

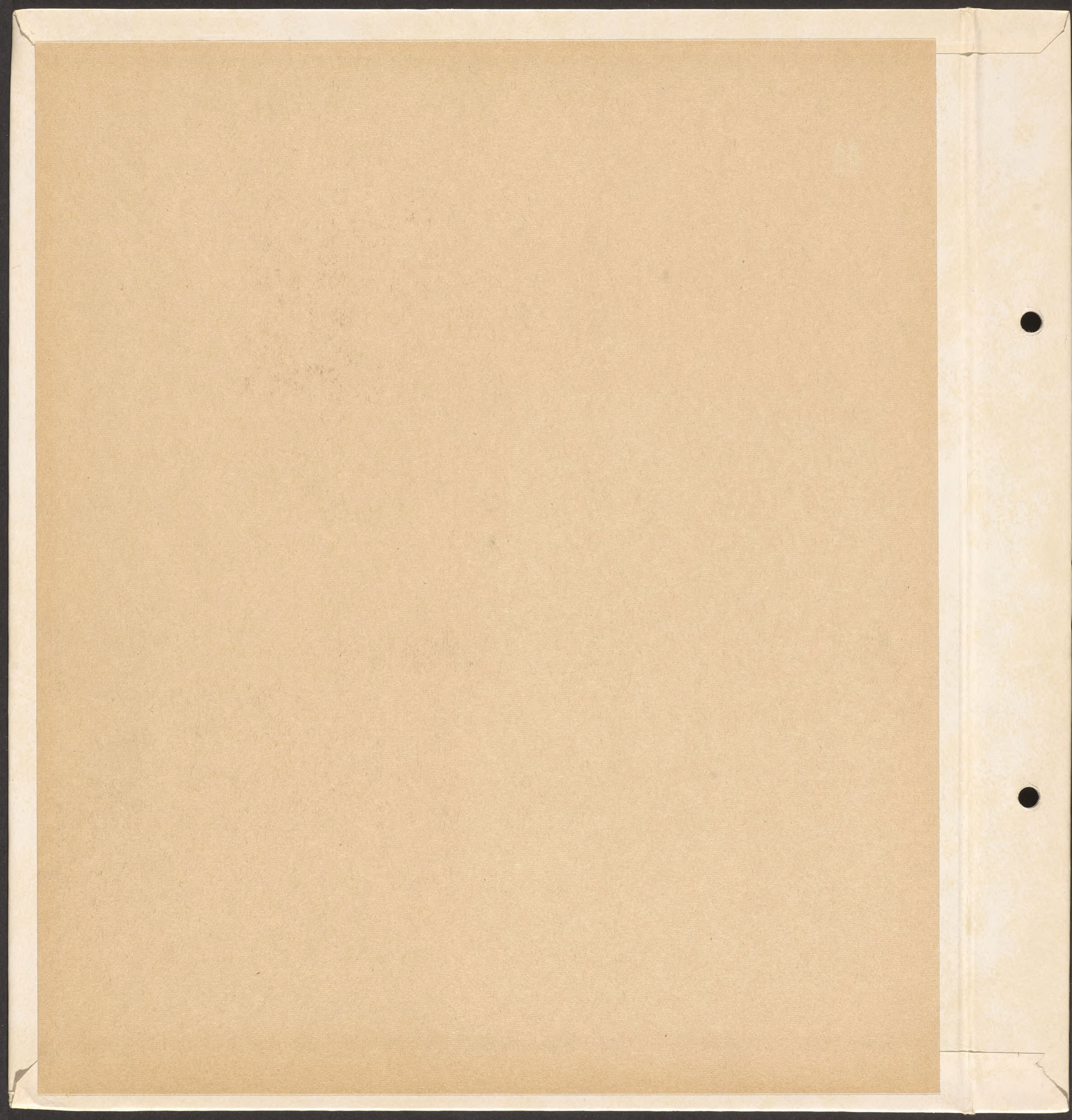
M. Caldwell Butler #7.

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Scrap Book



Area Congressmen Hear From Voters on Impeachment Issue

*No Rabid Anti-Nixon Sentiment
Seen by Virginia Delegation*

By Ken Ringle
Washington Post Staff Writer

The proudest and most frequent boast of the people of Virginia, surpassing even their pride in history and tradition, is their state's reputation for clean politics and government relatively free from corruption.

But after a year in which two former cabinet officers, seven White House aides and nine other presidential employees or campaign aides were indicted or pleaded guilty to criminal charges—including burglary, conspiracy and obstruction of justice—Virginia's congressmen report no statewide groundswell of indignation against Richard Nixon.

Instead, they say, there

are pockets of pro- and anti-Nixon fervor separated by a large majority of people anxious over such things as inflation and the energy crisis for whom the impeachment question looms like another unwelcome storm on the horizon.

For some people, unblinking loyalty to the president is the path around the storm.

"I got a call when I was home from a middle-management fellow in a shipyard," recalls Republican Rep. G. William Whitehurst of the Norfolk-area 2nd District. "He said 'Bill, I don't care whether Nixon's guilty or not. Don't you vote to impeach him.'"



WILLIAM WHITEHURST
... "a heck of a thing"



W.C. (DAN) DANIEL
... "things are quiet"

"Isn't that a heck of a thing? You don't expect to hear things like that in Virginia, but that's what I'm hearing."

Whitehurst is one of

seven Republicans who, with three Democrats, have supported the President more consistently on roll call

See DELEGATION, B5, Col. 1

Wash. Post 1-27-74

THE WASHINGTON POST Sunday, Jan. 27, 1974 B5



THOMAS N. DOWNING
... cites findings



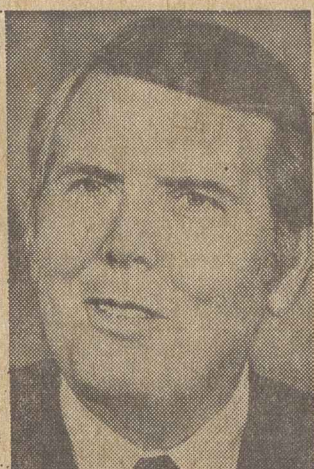
ROBERT DANIEL
... "had to bring it up"



STANFORD E. PARRIS
... waves of mail



M. CALDWELL BUTLER
... on Judiciary panel



JOEL T. BROYHILL
... polling district



DAVID E. SATTERFIELD
... "people are wondering"



WILLIAM WAMPLER
... "pretty raw letters"



J. KENNETH ROBINSON
... people "concerned"

Virginia Congressmen Find Little Furor for Impeachment

DELEGATION, From B1

votes than any other state delegation in Congress.

And to a man they are withholding public judgment on the impeachment question until the House Judiciary Committee makes its report.

The voters, they say, wouldn't want it any other way.

"They're not that interested in Watergate and impeachment," said Republican Rep. Robert Daniel of the Southside Virginia Fourth District. "When I was speaking at meetings over the holidays, there were many times when nobody asked me about it. I had to bring it up."

"I was home for a whole week before the subject was mentioned to me," said Democratic Rep. W. C. (Dan) Daniel (no relation) of the neighboring Fifth District. "Things are quiet."

In the Seventh District, which stretches from Charlottesville north and west into the Shenandoah Valley, Republican Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson reports his constituents "concerned" but not "emotionally aroused" about presidential credibility and impeachment.

While his mail runs about 50-50 for and against impeachment, Robinson says, most of it comes from the Charlottesville area near the University of Virginia and even from there the volume is down in recent months.

Robert Daniel, a first-term Republican, said when he sought out voters over the holidays he would "tell them I thought we ought to get on with the impeachment question and solve it one way or another... not drag it out."

"Then I'd ask if anybody there disagreed with that. Nobody ever spoke up."

In the Northern Virginia suburbs, Republican Rep. Stanford E. Parris reports waves of mail and phone calls, listens to a highly tuned campaign organization and buttonholes his Eighth District constituents on the weekends.

"Six months ago the mail was 9 to 1 for impeachment," he says. "In the last three months it's slowed and now it's about 50-50."

Parris recalls one man in a country store in Stafford or Prince William County who told him he thought "Kissinger was messing around with fancy women and Butz was shipping everything overseas so the prices were going up and we ought to clean the whole mess out."

"So I said, 'You mean impeachment?' and he said, 'Well, no, not impeachment.' and I said, 'Well, what do we do then?'"

"And he said, 'Well, I don't know but do something.'"

Republican Rep. Joel T. Broyhill of the neighboring 10th District declines to talk percentages for against impeachment in his district. He's sending out a questionnaire on the issue next week that he says will tell him exactly.

"But I think the overwhelming majority feel the way I do," he says. "They're disgusted by the things that have been going on and they don't like them. But they want a proper and rational investigation."

"And if that investigation turns up grounds for impeachment, I'll vote for impeachment."

Findings of that investigation will be handled by the House Judiciary Committee, and the lone Virginia member on that committee is Rep. M. Caldwell Butler—a first-term Republican from the Lynchburg-Roanoke 6th District, traditional heartland of the Virginia GOP.

There, Butler says, Watergate is a "back-burner consideration" next to inflation and the energy crisis and "sentiment in support of the president is a good deal stronger than I would have thought from my mail."

"There's no majority for removal," he said, "not by a long shot... I don't know."

Butler slumped his lanky frame and shook his head.

"Every time we think things have calmed down some, Rose Mary's foot slips or it's something else."

Perhaps surprisingly, the strongest sentiment reported for impeachment of the president comes not from Virginia's urban corri-

dor but from two of its more rural districts—the eastern Virginia First District bordering the Chesapeake Bay and the Southwest Virginia ninth.

Rep. Thomas N. Downing, an eight-term conservative Democrat from the 1st, esti-

mates more than half his constituents want President Nixon removed, either through impeachment or resignation.

In the Ninth District, Rep. William Wampler says he has had more mail on impeachment than on any

other issue since he was first elected to Congress in 1952. "We've gotten some pretty raw letters," he said.

Wampler said he has been unable to decide so far whether events since the Watergate breakin constitute "unbelievable poor po-

litical judgment or an impeachable offense."

Rep. David E. Satterfield III of the Richmond area Third District reports that support for the President is still strong in and around the capital city. He agrees with other congressmen that

anxiety over impeachment is interrelated with anxiety over inflation and the energy crisis.

"People are wondering: 'How much can I really believe any more? What are we doing with our country? Where are we going?'"

Butler Likes Doar As Watergate Counsel

By JACK BETTS
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., said Thursday the Judiciary Committee's impeachment inquiry is proceeding in a professional manner with special counsel John Doar at the helm and expressed relief that the committee doesn't "have another Sam Dash on our hands."

Dash is chief counsel of the Senate Watergate committee, and Butler made it clear he didn't approve of Dash's ex parte comments on that investigation.

Asked if he was implying that Dash had leaked material to newsmen, Butler said, "Mr. Dash had too much to say — for a lawyer."

In an interview, Butler, a member of the Judiciary Committee, said he had met briefly with Doar and added, "I think Mr. Doar is going to endeavor to maintain the client-lawyer relationship between himself and the committee. I don't believe we've got another Sam Dash on our hands and I'm relieved at this."

Butler said he believed Doar would follow the advice of the committee in his conduct of the impeachment inquiry "much more than Dash (did) in the Senate."

The 6th District Republican also had mild praise for Committee Chairman Peter Rodino, D-N.J., a contrast to Butler's feeling last fall that Rodino's leadership was questionable.

"I feel that the partisanship problems prevalent at first have been subdeud by Mr.

Rodino," Butler said. "I think he's making a real, conscientious effort to make it an objective committee study . . . I probably judged him too harshly because of everyone's inexperience in these matters, and I didn't realize there were that many hanging Democrats" on the committee.

Asked whether he thought congressmen who have stated publicly that President Nixon should be impeached are guilty of prejudgment since they may eventually cast votes on the subject, Butler said:

"Don't think there is a single member of Congress answerable to me. They are answerable to their constituents and they've got to represent their constituents as their consciences dictate."

"I do not think that a totally prejudiced member of Congress should be disqualified from participating in these deliberations. We were not selected for our objectivity at all but I think it's mistake to prejudge anything. But if that's the sort of congressman the people of a given district have chosen to send here, then he's got to answer to them, not to me. But he's free to do as he pleases."

The Roanoke freshman legislator said he had joined Rep. Thomas F. Railsback, R-Ill., in sponsoring a bill that would force special Watergate prosecutor Leon Jaworski to turn over material desired by the Judiciary Committee for its impeachment study.

Butler said he believed Jaworski had refused to release

material to the committee because of his doubts that grand jury secrecy would be preserved.

Butler originally was to be a member of a 15-man ad hoc committee meeting frequently with Doar to discuss progress on the inquiry. However, after senior committee members protested that they, too, should be on that panel, Butler and others with relatively little seniority stepped down.

This, Butler indicated, suited him fine.

"My relationship with the ad hoc committee doesn't create problems at all. I keep as well posted on the inquiry as anyone on the committee. This way, I don't have to sit through all those long hearings — I can get the information all at once."

He expressed doubt that the committee would be able to move as quickly as possible in wrapping up the impeachment study. Although Rodino has said it will be completed by April 1, Butler thinks it will require two weeks more.

"It's going to require diligence to finish by that time, and if we have any roadblocks, it going to require an extension of time. I've heard rumors that the White House is not going to cooperate, and I hope that's not true. But I certainly can't fault the President for putting up a good defense," he said.

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Butler Avoids Stand On Seeking New Term

Times Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON — Roanoke Rep. M. Caldwell Butler told a group of high school students from Lexington Wednesday that he was "keeping his options open" on running for re-election because of the strains of week-long separations from his family while Congress is in session.

But what he didn't say was that he was moving to ease that strain by leasing a farmhouse in McLean so his family could join him in Washington in May.

Butler, a freshman Republican who has remained silent on the re-election question, made the statement in response to a question from one of the students.

He said he liked his job, but had decided that the midweek separations convinced him "the job is not that good."

A father of four, Butler has

two children still in high school in Roanoke, so has lived in a small apartment on Capitol Hill during his 18 months in the House.

Earlier in the day, Butler made another comment he apparently felt might give reporters the wrong idea.

During a session of a House Administration Committee discussion on limiting contributions by labor, business and medical political action committees, Butler said, "I have decided in my campaigns hereafter I will not accept contributions from political action committees."

As soon as the session was over, Butler asked a reporter if he understood the meaning of the reference.

"You're running again?", Butler was asked.

"Naw, that's not it. I said the same thing in a speech to a medical group last month," Butler said.

WRT- 1-11-74

Butler Wants 'Fireproof Probe Of Watergate

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., says the public wants a special Watergate prosecutor appointed that President Nixon can't fire.

Butler said yesterday he would vote for a bill to set up a special prosecutor independent of the Justice Department, because one is needed "to restore the confidence of the people in the governmental process."

The 6th District representative said the majority of his mail had expressed support for impeaching Nixon after he fired special prosecutor Archibald Cox and initially refused to surrender his controversial White House tapes.

But, Butler said, Nixon's decision Tuesday to turn the tapes over to U.S. District Judge John J. Sirica may have changed public sentiment.

Nixon's Watergate Remark A 'Mistake,' Butler Says

RT-1-31-74

By WAYNE WOODLIFF
Times Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON — Virginia 6th District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler said Wednesday night he thinks President Nixon made "a tactical mistake" in tacking on a Watergate statement to the State Of The Union message.

"That tended to overshadow the good news (including a possible approaching lifting of the Arab oil boycott) in the speech," Butler said.

Butler was pleased, however, "by the President's physical appearance and his self-control." The freshman Republican representative said, "He handled himself well and delivered the speech well. That should be reassuring to American people, regardless of their view."

Butler said, "I had been worried by some of the things I had been reading about his condition." Recent news accounts have pictured the President as spending many restless nights recently and of showing strain.

Butler, a member of the House Judiciary Committee which is studying possible impeachment proceedings against Nixon said, his pledge to cooperate with the Judiciary Committee was "couched in legalisms but I'm not critical of that."

Butler said that he thinks the impeachment authority of the House of Representatives "is a good deal broader than what the President expressed." But, Butler said, Nixon "laid out his position with good grace. I don't think he threw down the gauntlet, and I don't think the committee will either."

Nixon recalled hearing his first State of the Union message as a freshman congressman 27 years ago, and said some freshman sitting there Wednesday night might be president 27 years from now.

That brought this tongue-in-cheek remark from Butler: "I want to state categorically that I am not a candidate for President of the United States."

Butler outspent Anderson

1-31-74 W-N

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Roanoke Republican Rep. M. Caldwell Butler outspent his Democratic opponent in 1972 by nearly 2½ to one, receiving contributions of \$500 or more from 21 individuals, according to a nationwide campaign finance report released today.

Butler also received major contributions from medical and business associations, according to the study by the national citizens' lobby, Common Cause.

Much of the information was recorded during the 1972 campaigns, especially contributions from congressional candidates' major financial committees. But Common Cause has computerized total donations from all such committees and disclosed total corporate and union and major individual donations.

The statistics for the 1972 Virginia 6th District race between Butler and Democrat Willis M. Anderson include:

★ Butler spent \$116,363 to

Anderson's \$49,078. Butler's campaign took in \$104,127 to Anderson's \$49,578.

★ Butler received \$1,000 from \$1,000 the dairy industry, \$1,000 from the National Association of Manufacturers, and \$7,000 from the American Medical Association and its Virginia affiliate.

★ Butler's single largest individual contribution, \$5,000, came from Roanoke corporate executive, John W. Hancock Jr. Other contributors of \$1,000 or more were Elbert and Evelyn Waldron, Roanoke, \$3,100; Horace Fralin, Roanoke, \$2,600 — Waldron and Fralin are listed as business partners—; Attorney William B. Poff, Roanoke, \$1,251; corporate executive J. W. Burrell, Roanoke, \$1,000; and High Point, N. C. businessman, George Erath, \$1,000.

★ Anderson's major contributions included \$2,250 from organized labor; \$2,000 from the Democratic party; \$1,000 from the dairy industry, \$2,450 from State Sen. William B. Hopkins of Roanoke, \$1,450 from Anderson himself and \$950 from construction executive W. B. Adams of Roanoke.

★ Anderson received four other individual contributions of \$500 from insurance man, John A. Clem III of Staunton, quarry executive Gordon Willis of Roanoke, construction businessman William Cranwell of Blacksburg, and retired doctor J. C. Zillhardt of Fincastle.

Butler Urges U.S. Policy

Energy Crunch Linked to Disbelief

By DONNA SHOEMAKER
Times Staff Writer

If one single reason could account for the energy crisis, it would be "the inability of the average American to actually believe America could run short of oil," 6th District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler told a group of men vitally concerned with the crisis—the members of Delta Nu Alpha, Roanoke's transportation fraternity.

Butler said Monday night he is satisfied that the nation could come out of the crisis, but what is needed is a national energy policy to coordinate governmental and private efforts. "No one person has been in the position to pull all this together and sound the alarm," Butler said.

The first problem is to convince citizens the crisis is for real, he explained. "I do not doubt the ability of the oil companies to contrive a crisis of this nature," considering their size and other factors, he said, emphasizing that he saw no evidence that they had contrived the shortages.

Most of the information on the crisis is coming from the oil companies, he said, and the government has recognized that "more reliable data must be obtained."

Butler's speech, aimed at explaining the energy situation, also touched on the idea of impeaching President Nixon and the confirmation process of Gerald Ford as vice president.

The House Judiciary Committee, of which Butler is a

member, is currently assembling all known information on impeachment, and "at the rate the staff is moving, they are being so thorough, they aren't getting anywhere," he commented. He said he hoped a decision could be made soon so "we can get on with the work of the country."

After sitting through 10 days of hearings on Ford, Butler said he was convinced of the man's integrity. "No man came and said 'this man is a crook,'" he told the fraternity at their dinner meeting at the Steer House Restaurant on Brambleton Avenue, SW.

The list of potential villains in the energy shortages includes just about everyone, Butler hinted: the government has failed to do its

share; there has been a lack of policy aimed at encouraging oil companies to concentrate on domestic production; the average citizen wants an oil refinery anywhere but near him.

As a result, people are going to have to tighten their belts—on their cars, furnaces, appliances and other energy users.

The Republican congressman said he was satisfied the nation would come out of the crisis in time, if it maintained a commitment to energy conservation.

The situation has hit him personally, he said. He still had to find an economical way to come home each weekend to his family, and "I'm still waiting for Amtrak to pick me up."

R-T-1-29-74

Congress Works Harder Than He Had Expected

By Meg Hibbert

Even though they maybe disappointed with the actions of President Nixon, Amherst County people may have helped squelch the national movement for his impeachment.

That's the impression a person gets from the county's man in the United States House of Representatives, M. Caldwell Butler, one of the members of the important House Judiciary Committee that must decide whether or not to recommend that impeachment proceedings be instituted.

In an interview with the **Amherst New Era-Progress** on Capitol Hill last week in the opening week of the 93rd Congress' second session, Butler said "While home I found Virginians showed much more support of the President than I had been led to believe."

"There are various degrees of disappointment with the President, but fewer interested in impeachment than I thought," the Sixth District Congressman explained. He added that the Judicial Committee is weighed heavily on the side of liberal Democrats, "which makes it difficult for the President and the Congress."

Butler is optimistic that a decision could be reached on impeachment relatively soon. "I see no reason why the matter could not be taken care of one way or another by Easter," he said, "but you never know how Congress will act."

"Issues we should be spending time on instead of impeachment questions include revisions to the bankruptcy act, federal rules of evidence, which has passed the committee and will be coming to the floor, and the shield law for newspaper reporters," Butler stated.

Protection of an individual's rights through privacy of arrest records and other information

that is stored in computers is another issue he feels important to the committee.

In the Congressman's opinion, the most emotional issues before the body are abortion laws and busing questions.

A proposed "right to life" constitutional amendment is an item before one of the subcommittees he is on, Civil and Constitutional Rights. It was on that issue that he and other congressmen were being pressured on the day the **New Era-Progress** interviewed Butler in the Capitol.

The amendment that proponents want released by the sub-committee would, in effect, nullify the U.S. Supreme Court's recent decision allowing legal abortions in the early months of pregnancy.

That amendment has been in committee for the past year, and he expects it to stay there.

"Most of the committee members don't want to hold hearings on it because they do not feel it is an issue of sufficient importance to the nation to necessitate an amendment to the U.S. Constitution," Butler said.

Although this is only the second year he has served in the House of Representatives, Butler was named to the important Judicial Committee because he had seniority over his fellow freshman congressmen.

It happened because his predecessor, Richard H. Poff, was named to the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals in 1972. Butler was elected to fill the vacancy and simultaneously won election to a regular two year term. Therefore, even though Congress had already adjourned in November of 1972, Butler was sworn in then as a member of the 92nd Congress and had seniority when the 93rd Congress opened.

Main issues before Congress this session, Butler believes,

are first of all, impeachment, followed in importance by the energy crisis, trade, and reform of tax and pension regulations.

Addressing himself to a piece of legislation over which Virginians are particularly concerned, the National Land Use Control Bill, Butler explained that the intent of the legislation's sponsors seems to be "to coerce the states into adopting

land use plans. If that is not done, the federal government will do it for the states."

The real problem is that standards for planning will be placed under the discretion of an administrative officer, the man who represents a half million Virginians pointed out, "and we'll have a lot of problems similar to those associated with integration of the school

system and other mandates."

"We're moving well in land planning in Virginia," he stated, "and I question the need for such legislation affecting the Commonwealth. I'll reserve judgment until I see the shape in which it comes to us for consideration," he added.

He is reluctant to discuss what implications President Nixon's troubles precipitated

by Watergate break ins might have on his possible reelection chances in November.

"I have not decided whether I will run again," he said. "Watergate attempts to put all public officials in disrepute," Butler believes, "but situation had more adverse effects on Republican candidates in states other than Virginia during the last election," he observed.

About the job of Congressman in general, Butler is thoughtful. "The job is certainly not what I anticipated," he said. "For instance, I had no idea we would spend so much time on the impeachment question, a replacement for the vice president, and the energy crisis. These are not the concerns I though would take up the time of Congress."

He added that the Congress works harder than he had expected. "Experience is what I got out of the first year. My years in the Virginia General Assembly were helpful, but no substitute."

He is not completely disillusioned with the life as a Congressman, however. "It is gratifying to me to see how helpful a Congressman can be to his constituents," he explained.

Butler said he is stepping up the number of listening sessions his staff assistant in Lynchburg, Mrs. Hilda DeWitt, will hold in Amherst.

He said she will meet with Amherst County citizens twice a month, rather than once. One meeting will be held in the morning and the other in the afternoon both in the courthouse.

"This is one of my responses to the energy crisis," he said, "having Mrs. DeWitt go to Amherst rather than my district assistant, Jeff Gregson, driving over from Roanoke."



IN COMMITTEE—Sixth District Congressman M. Caldwell Butler looks over some of the legislation before the

House of Representatives Judiciary Committee.

Amherst New Era-Progress 1/31/74 - p.1

Nixon Asserts He Will Stay, Urges Speedy End to Probe

"Opportunities are coalescing which give us a chance to make historic progress toward a stable peace and expanding prosperity."

—President Nixon

(c) 1974 New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — President Nixon, in a special appeal to Congress and the nation, asserted anew Wednesday that he would not resign and that one year of Watergate is enough. He called for a speedy settlement of the impeachment proceedings in the House of Representatives.

"I believe the time has come to bring that investigation to an end," Nixon said in a "personal word" at the end of his State of the Union message. "One year of Watergate is enough."

Nixon, his voice brimming with emotion as he addressed a joint session of the Congress in the House chamber, said he would cooperate with the impeachment inquiry now under way by the House Judiciary Committee. But he broadly hinted that he might not provide all of the documents and other material that might be subpoenaed.

"I will cooperate with the committee so that it can complete its investigation in any way that I consider consistent with the obligation of the President of the United States," he said. "I will follow the precedent of never doing anything that weakens the presidency of the United States."

In this regard, he said, he would follow the precedent of every president from George Washington to Lyndon B. Johnson. In the past, he has spoken in this vein in declaring his belief in maintaining executive privilege.

Further, he sought to put down talk that he might resign or step aside temporarily while he fights the charges against him.

"I have no intention whatever of walking away from the job that the people elected me to do," he said to a standing ovation from his congressional supporters.

His declaration on Watergate came at the end of a traditional State of the Union address and after he had submitted



AP Photo

President Delivers State of Union Address; His Family Applauds During the Message Given in House Chamber

ted a long statement in which he proposed a 10-point program this year for dealing with domestic and foreign affairs.

His proposals were contained in a 30,000-word message that preceded his nationally televised State-of-the-Union message before a joint session of the House and Senate.

"Opportunities are coalescing which give us a chance to make historic progress toward a stable peace and expanding prosperity," Nixon said as he set out to define the issues and problems facing the nation and his administration's plans for dealing with them.

The message, however, contained no surprises. Most of his proposals had

been announced previously and much of what he asked was contained in legislation that had been before the Congress for some time.

He also disclosed the figures in the executive budget for the coming fiscal year beginning July 1, that is to be made public on Monday, saying that it was designed to resist a slowdown in the economy, yet keep inflation in check. This, too, had been expected.

"For the fiscal year 1975, my budget recommends total spending of \$304.4 billion, an increase of \$29.7 billion over the current year," he said. "The increase is being held to the minimum level necessary—nearly 90 per cent of the increase is unavoidable under existing law. The

budgeted increase in relatively controllable outlays is only 4.2 per cent."

Nixon said the projected budget deficit for the fiscal year would be \$9.4 billion, based on anticipated federal receipts of \$295 billion, an increase of \$25 billion over the current period.

The tone of the message was low-keyed and conciliatory. For example, for most of last year, Nixon had scolded Congress for overspending. Wednesday, he praised Congress for recognizing that "budget discipline" was required as a tool in controlling inflation.

"I have noted with satisfaction," he said, "that most members of Congress have also recognized the need for budgetary discipline, and that work is going

forward to establish a more systematic budgeting procedure."

One of the new initiatives contained in the long message was in the area of transportation.

He said he would send to Congress legislation that would increase by almost 50 per cent federal funds for public transportation in metropolitan areas, partly as a result of the energy crisis.

This, Nixon said, would "mark the largest federal commitment ever to the improvement of public transportation" and it would be proposed in a way that would give communities freedom to as-

See Page 4, Col. 3

The 10 Points

WASHINGTON — President Nixon, in his State of the Union message, listed Wednesday night his 10 goals for 1974 as follows:

1. An improvement in the energy supply that would assure "reasonable prices with adequate environmental protection."
2. "Another giant stride toward lasting peace in the world" by continuing a policy of detente with the great powers and by working for a "lasting peace" in the Middle East.
3. A check in the rise of prices "without administering the harsh medicine of recession" while moving the economy into a period of "steady growth."
4. A new system of comprehensive health insurance that would guarantee high quality care to every American.
5. More progress toward turning back federal authority and money to the state and local governments.
6. "A crucial breakthrough" in public transportation.
7. Reforms in federal aid to education.
8. A "historic beginning" in legislation to protect the right of personal privacy.
9. A "new road toward reform of the welfare system."
10. New initiatives in world trade with more access by Americans to markets and supplies.

President To Refuse Subpoena

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Nixon will refuse to testify personally in the California trial of his former aide John D. Ehrlichman, despite a court order won by the defense, the White House said Wednesday.

A Nixon spokesman left open the possibility that the President might answer written questions in the state court trial.

Earlier Wednesday, Atty. Gen. William B. Saxbe criticized the court order as "unrealistic" because the President of the United States can't appear in every justice of the peace court all over this country at the whim of that justice of the peace."

Saxbe told reporters he has ordered a Justice Department study to determine whether the subpoena sets a precedent for summoning the President to testify in a broad range of legal proceedings involving the government.

At the request of Ehrlichman's lawyers, California Superior Court Judge Gordon Ringer issued an order Tuesday instructing Nixon to appear as a material witness in the trial of Ehrlichman and two other defendants in the White House "plumbers" burglary case.

Nixon's refusal to appear could, in the long run benefit Ehrlichman's case by giving him a basis for arguing that testimony vital to his defense was being withheld.

Ehrlichman and the other defendants, former White House aides David Young and G. Gordon Liddy, have contended that they should not be prosecuted for activities conducted in good faith as part of their official duties.

The three have been charged with conspiracy and burglary for the break-in at the Beverly Hills office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.



GORDON RINGER
Judge Who Issued Order

Deputy White House Press Secretary Gerald L. Warren said Nixon's attorneys "will recommend to the President that he respectfully decline to appear... on constitutional grounds" and that Nixon will heed their advice.

He said, however, that Ehrlichman's lawyers have discussed with Nixon's chief Watergate lawyer, James D. St. Clair, the possibility that Nixon might respond to written questions.

In Los Angeles, however, Ehrlichman attorney Douglas Dalton said: "We're going to continue in our efforts to have the subpoena issued out of the court in Washington." He added: "We have no present plans to confer with White House counsel prior to a hearing."

At any rate, Saxbe said the issue probably is headed for higher courts for a decision on the extent of presidential immunity from subpoenas. He said Assistant Atty. Gen. Robert G. Dixon is studying the case "as it's going to apply to about a thousand others that we have."

Price Controls Lifted From Petrochemicals

WASHINGTON (AP) — The Cost of Living Council lifted most price controls Wednesday from petrochemical feed stocks, raw materials used mainly in the plastics, fiber and rubber industries.

The action was taken to head off growing shortages of the raw materials and to head off mounting job layoffs throughout the petrochemical industry, the government said.

The likely net result for consumers will be substantial price increases for most plastics, rubber and synthetic fiber products.

At the same time, the council removed tire manufacturers from Phase 4 price control regulations, a move the government said will mean a \$250 million increase in wholesale tire prices.

James W. McLane, deputy director of the council, said the five largest tire producers agreed to limit wholesale price increases on all passenger car tires and tubes to five per cent and to limit retail price increases for all standard small-car tires to four per cent through Aug. 1.

After that, the companies will be free to raise prices as they wish, he said.

In addition, McLane said, tire manufacturers agreed to speed up production of small radial tires now in short supply

due to the shift in consumer demand from big cars.

The petrochemical industry had forecast up to one million job layoffs as a result of the feed stock shortage caused by the Arab oil embargo.

"The government's actions today are designed to relieve developing shortages in the petrochemical industry and potentially serious employment reductions by stimulating immediate expansion of petrochemical feedstocks," McLane said at a news conference called to announce the government's actions.

McLane estimated price increases on products derived from the feed stocks would range from 3.25 to 3.75 per cent with a total impact on the economy of between \$650 million and \$750 million.

"These price and profit increases are necessary," he said, "to provide incentive to expand production and decrease the rate of exports of these vital products."

In return, he said the government expects the chemical industry to respond by increasing supplies to domestic customers.

In a related action, the Federal Energy Office permitted increases in the base price for benzene and toluene, the petrochemical feed stocks over which it has jurisdiction.



AP Photo

Birthday Boy

Black Jack the horse, known for his role in three presidential funerals, takes a bite from a piece of cake held by Mrs. Michael V. Schado during his 27th birthday party in Ft. Myer Wednesday.

Good Morning

Home is where part of the family waits until the others are through with the car.

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Stations Reported Running Out of Gas

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
Many service stations were running out of gas Wednesday as their monthly allocations fell short of demand, and customers faced long lines and limited sales in stations that had gas.

Station operators said the situation this month was worse than last because January allotments were smaller than those for December; many stations preserved gas in December because of holiday closings, and the first day of February is a Friday, meaning many

stations won't get next month's allotment until the following Monday.

In addition, some stations which haven't used all of their January allotment have not been able to get the rest because the oil companies tell them it's too expensive to ship in partial loads.

Some station operators say they're expecting substantial cuts in February allotments.

"They're going to drop us 12,000 to 13,000 gallons next month," said one station spokesman in an Albany, N.Y., suburb.

He said he hasn't enough gas now to keep his pumps open for longer than an hour and a half each morning.

In Chicago, the Illinois Gasoline Dealers Association urged area stations to refuse gas to customers who have a quarter tankful.

"We're asking our attendants to check the gas gauges," said Robert Jacobs, secretary treasurer of the group which urged an end to what it called panic buying in Chicago. "If they've got more than a quarter of a tank — hit the road, buddy."

Death, Abortion and Rights Occupy Legislators

RICHMOND (AP)—Virginia legislators got an earful of views on the death penalty, abortion and equal rights for women Wednesday, elected 126 judges and girded for another battle over parimutuel betting.

It was by far the busiest day yet in the 1974 session, now entering its fourth week.

More than 20 senators and delegates topped off their breakfast coffee by listening for several hours to pro and con arguments on whether Virginia should institute the death penalty and how best to conform the state's abortion law with the U.S. Supreme Court decision.

Compared with the emotional fireworks that accompanied passage of the relatively liberal abortion law several years ago, Wednesday's hearing was placid.

This was because even the opponents of abortion conceded that Virginia had no choice but to go along with the 1973 Supreme Court decision which held that there can be no interference with a woman's right to have an abortion during her first three months of pregnancy. Consequently, the public comment focused on a so-called "conscience clause" in the proposed bill which would permit hospitals and health care person-

nel to refuse to take part in proceedings on moral grounds.

The proposal drew unanimous support.

No such unanimity prevailed on the question of capital punishment, with opponents calling it "barbaric" and supporters contending it was necessary to protect society.

Clergymen were solidly against the concept and said there was no evidence to demonstrate that the death penalty has any deterrent value.

Proponents insisted that it does act as a deterrent and is a viable weapon in the war against crime.

Gov. Mills Godwin has urged reinstatement of mandatory capital punishment for certain crimes and several bills already have been introduced to accomplish this.

Some 200 persons gathered later in the day to listen to a task force report on how Virginia laws would be affected by passage of an amendment to the U.S. Constitution guaranteeing equal rights for men and women.

The Equal Rights Amendment has been ratified by 32 states thus far and needs only six more for adoption. It nev-

er got out of committee in the 1973 assembly.

The task force said that relatively few substantive changes would have to be made in Virginia law should the amendment ultimately be adopted.

Among the new legislation offered Wednesday were anticipated bills that would give the assembly another crack at placing Virginia in the ranks of those states offering legal horse track betting.

The 1974 version offers stringent safeguards to assure that parimutuel betting would be "free of any corrupt,

See Page 2, Col. 6

Assembly at a glance

MURDER CHEAP without death penalty, committees told at public hearing. Page 17

EQUAL RIGHTS amendment controversies cited. Page 42

ROBERT J. ROGERS of Roanoke among those elected circuit court judges. Page 16

LEGISLATORS JOIN women Democrat leaders from state to hear national party official. Page 29

News in Brief

Police Lack Leads In Sidewalk Killings

SAN FRANCISCO (AP) — Police reported no hard clues Wednesday in the investigation of four random killings Monday night.

However, they believe the random sidewalk slayings were committed by the same person or persons who also shot and killed six people last November and December.

"We don't have good clues and only meager pieces of information," said Lt. William O'Connor as police launched a manhunt called "Operation Zebra" to find at least two black gunmen.

O'Connor withdrew an earlier statement he made Wednesday that a fanatical sect of blacks in California has murdered whites at random for initiation rites.

"We don't know about any fanatical group and we have nothing to link any fanatical group with any slaying," O'Connor said.

Earlier, however, he had said, "We know such an organization exists, but we have nothing to link it with the San Francisco slayings."

Two survivors of the street shootings share the same vivid memory of their attacker—an emotionless face, blank and trance-like.

More Cancer Funds Sought

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Nixon announced Tuesday that he will ask Congress for another \$100 million above last year's request of \$500 million for an expanded attack on cancer.

In a letter to Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Caspar Weinberger Nixon expressed his "strong and continuing interest" in the nationwide effort to combat the killer disease and called for expansion of the National Cancer Act of 1971, which would expire June 30.

He said he will include the additional \$100 million in his fiscal 1975 budget that will be submitted to Congress Monday.

Cambodian Reds Seek Help

PHNOM PENH, Cambodia (AP) — Cambodian Communists have asked the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese for at least a division of troops to help the Cambodian insurgents keep pressure on Phnom Penh, authoritative Western sources said Wednesday. The sources said the Viet Cong's central office for South Vietnam turned down the request because of friction between the Vietnamese and Cambodian Communists. But the Viet Cong agreed to send a commando unit to help the Cambodian insurgents gathered around Phnom Penh, the sources said.

Bombs Explode in Milan

ROME (AP) — Bombs damaged two schools and destroyed a bar in the industrial hub of Milan Wednesday. The police said there were no casualties. Leaflets found at the explosion sites bore the signature of SAM, Mussolini Action Squads. The group, named after World War II Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini, has claimed responsibility for over 50 terrorist acts in the last 50 years.

Armed Men Seize Vehicles

DUBLIN, Ireland (AP) — Armed men took over buses and trucks at gunpoint Wednesday and left them at strategic points around central Dublin with simulated bombs inside. At least 15 men, believed by the police to be members of the outlawed Irish Republic Army, took part in the operation. Boxes placed on buses contained stones and oil drums with wires leading from them were found to be empty when the trucks were searched.

Oil Firm Reports Gain

SAN FRANCISCO (AP) — Standard Oil Co. of California reported on Wednesday earnings in 1973 of \$843.6 million—a 54 per cent gain over 1972. Fourth-quarter 1973 earnings jumped 94 per cent. Board Chairman O. N. Miller said the 1973 returns on Standard's net investment was 15.3 per cent. "The improved level of earnings experienced by Standard in 1973 is essential to carrying out the large investments in the years ahead," Miller said. "In no way do they support statements that profits are excessive."

Europe Lifting Oil Restrictions

LONDON (AP) — Norway lifted all oil-saving restrictions Wednesday and Denmark resumed normal fuel supplies to public transportation in the latest indications that the oil crisis is easing in Europe.

The Dutch and the Swedes have ended hastily imposed gasoline rationing. Belgium and Switzerland have lifted Sunday driving bans. And Norway now has joined Britain in shelving rationing plans.

The doomsday headlines are vanishing. It's now at the gasoline pumps that most Europeans are the impersonal targets of the Arab oil policy thrust on the world following October's Arab-Israeli war.

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AP Photo

Church Opens Hearing on Oil Firms

Tangled Oil Dealings Explored at Hearing

(C) 1974 New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — Senators and witnesses at a congressional investigation of international oil corporations told Wednesday of an intricate pattern of financial dealings dating back a quarter century that gave the companies the privileges that have led to enormous profits.

The scenario included investments in the Middle Eastern oil producing nations, complicated tax and royalty payments to these countries, offsetting credits against United States taxes, and a secret cabinet-level decision in 1950 to allow the tax switches.

Congressional investigators also released copies of cable traffic three years ago between the London policy group, a combine of oil companies, and its New York advisory committee indicating

that the tax credits were of extreme importance to petroleum negotiations in Libya and Iran.

While what took place was not illegal, several senators indicated that the effect of the various transactions was that agencies of the federal government and the petroleum corporations cooperated to set policy for the betterment of industry.

Much of the testimony dealt with the international tax aspects of the petroleum industry, future domestic supplies and prices, with the outlook generally gloomy.

But Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, who is chairman of the Senate foreign relations subcommittee on multinational corporations, hinted about further disclosures before a standing-room-only crowd in the hearing room.



AP Photo

Soviet Ally Cheered

Demonstrators wave Cuban flags during a Cuban-Soviet friendship rally in Havana. The rally was promoted by Soviet Leader Leonid Brezhnev's state visit to Cuba. In the background are portraits of Brezhnev and the late Cuban leader Che Guevara.

'Military Zone' Declared in Bolivia

Bolivia: A Revolutionary Road

LA PAZ, Bolivia (AP) — Economic nightmares and generals galloping to the rescue are not unfamiliar to Bolivia's 5.3 million people.

This impoverished, landlocked South American country has seen more than 180 governments, including more than 60 full-scale revolutions, in its 147 years of independence.

The generals have had fertile ground for appealing to the people in political experiments. The per capita income is \$190 a year. Sixty per cent of the people cannot read or write. Hunger and disease are frequent visitors to Bolivian homes. Roads are poor. Railroads are inadequate.

The economy also has been the victim of erratic world prices for tin, Bolivia's chief export.

Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina, Chile and Peru have taken almost half of Bolivia's original domain, leaving Bolivia 424,160 square miles, about the size of Texas and California combined.

to clear roadblocks and reopen three main highways to traffic, he said.

An unconfirmed report by a Cochabamba newspaper said six persons were killed and three wounded Tuesday night when soldiers tried to clear the roads.

Guillermo Bulacia, President Hugo Banzer's minister of information, told newsmen there had been "exaggerated reports and rumors" about the protests. He did not mention any casualties.

Banzer has imposed a state of siege, banning rallies and permitting the police to make arrests and search houses without warrants.

Soldiers rescued a general

who had been taken hostage by the peasants. The officer, Gen. Juan Perez Tapia, was not harmed. He had been dispatched by Banzer to talk with the peasants and was seized on Tuesday.

Adriazola and other military chiefs present at the news conference likened this week's Cochabamba troubles to the leftist guerrilla uprising in Bolivia five years ago by the late Argentine-Cuban revolutionary Ernesto Che Guevara.

Banzer, a general, told the armed forces that there is a civilian-military plot to overthrow him, said the commander of the army, Gen. Carlos Alcoreza.

Utilities Ask Rate Increase To Offset Lower Power Use

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The energy crisis that prompted you to turn down your lights has prompted utilities to ask permission to charge you more for using less.

An Associated Press survey showed that utilities are seeking or have been granted rate increases that many say are needed to offset declining profits caused by energy conservation efforts that have cut electricity usage.

Some of the increases are called conservation surcharges and most of them would tack an extra 10 per cent on the average consumer's monthly electricity bill.

In addition, Americans are finding their bills going up because of fuel price increases that companies are allowed to pass on to their customers automatically.

The AP survey showed that virtually every area of the country was feeling the pinch and state commissions responsible for reviewing electricity rates said they were swamped with requests for increases.

"We're facing the largest workload in our history," said Robert Lenaghen of the Idaho Public Service Commission. "Every utility within this commission's jurisdiction has a rate increase pending."

The Washington Gas & Light Co., which serves 546,000 customers in the capital and Maryland and Virginia suburbs, has asked for permission to raise rates an average of 6.7 per cent, primarily to make up for a 6 per cent drop in demand.

Paul E. Reichardt, the company president, said that although 1973 revenues were up \$3 million over 1972, they

fell \$16.6 million short of expectations. He said \$7.6 million of the loss was due to lower consumption because of warm weather and \$9 million was due to conservation efforts. He also said labor costs will increase \$3 million this year.

Consolidated Edison Co. of New York added \$1.46 to the January bill of the average customer to reflect fuel cost hikes. Now the company is seeking rate increases that would yield an additional \$315 million a year.

(In Virginia, Appalachian Power Co.'s last rate increase was granted in 1952 but the company has been allowed to pass along higher costs of coal through a fuel adjustment clause since 1966.

Virginia Electric & Power Co. was granted a 4.6 per cent increase earlier this week and it received a \$41 million hike in July 1972.

Vepco has cited a "shortfall" of almost \$18.2 millions and "continued critical operating and financial conditions during the current energy crisis" when it applied for the last increase.)

The company said it needs the money because of higher costs for taxes, interest, labor and materials. Normally, Con Ed said, a rate increase of 22.6 per cent would yield the needed revenue. The company argued, however, that because consumption has dropped, it will need an additional increase, probably 6.7 per cent, to make up the difference.

Some consumers find their electricity bills have jumped as much as 30 per cent in the last year and a half with much of the increase coming in the last month or so.

A spokesman for Southern California Edison Co. said that on May 1, 1972, a typical residential customer paid \$21.79 every two months for 1,000 kilowatt hours of electricity.

By Aug. 1, 1973, \$3.08 was added to reflect rising fuel costs. On Oct. 10, a general rate increase was approved and this, plus another fuel-cost boost, brought the total up to \$5.11 more.

A Nov. 1 fuel adjustment brought the base price up to \$28.59 — a jump of 31 per cent since May 1972 — and another, similar increase is pending.

The Edison spokesman said that early last year the company was paying \$5 a barrel for fuel oil. Now, he said, the price is \$13.50 per barrel.

The Edison Electric Institute released figures Wednesday showing Americans used about 1 per cent less electricity in the first four weeks of 1974 than they did in the same period last year.

The normal anticipated growth rate for electric utilities is 7 or 8 per cent. Officials say the decline in usage is due to a variety of factors, including generally mild weather, energy conservation efforts and — to a very small extent — Daylight Saving Time.

The Wisconsin Electric Co. has asked for a conservation surcharge that would raise rates by about 6 per cent. Officials said they needed money for capital investments and to maintain profits that provided an 11.7 per cent return to shareholders in 1973. Without the increase, they said, declining consumption would cut profits to 9.6 per cent.

Government Acts To Head-Off Trucker Protests

WASHINGTON (AP) — The federal government Wednesday moved to head off protests by truck drivers by announcing it will guarantee them enough fuel to operate and by proposing that truck drivers be allowed to pass on their increased fuel costs.

Special presidential assistant W. J. Usery Jr. expressed hope the actions would bring to an end the

current protests by independent truck drivers in Ohio and would persuade other drivers to forego the nationwide protest some had called for midnight Thursday.

Usery said he had been in contact with several of the groups which claim to represent independent truckers and added "We have commitments from many of them."

The administration action came as the House and Senate continued to grapple with emergency energy legislation.

Leaders of House conferees indicated they were willing to go back into conference to discuss the bill rejected by the Senate Tuesday. The Senate voted to recommit the bill to conference in an effort to remove a controversial provi-

sion designed to limit oil industry profits.

Usery said the new administration proposal to the truckers calls for the Federal Energy Office to take action under the mandatory allocation program that "will guarantee that the fuel due the trucking industry for its operations is delivered." The industry will receive 110 per cent of the fuel it used in 1972, he said.

Assembly Shifts Into High Gear

From Page 1

incompetent, dishonest or unprincipled practice."

It was concern over criminal infiltration of horse track betting operations that was largely responsible for the failure to get the measure through in the 1973 assembly.

Offered by Del. Frank E. Mann, D-Alexandria, in the House and Sen. Peter K. Babalas, D-Norfolk, in the Senate, the companion bills would require the approval of voters in any locality where a race track is proposed.

A Virginia Racing Commission consisting of five members appointed by the governor and confirmed by the legisla-

ture would hold a tight rein over every aspect of the operation.

No member of a race track corporation could own more than 5 per cent of the stock and all members would be subject to intense investigation of their backgrounds and characters.

Every race track employee, including jockeys, exercise boys, grooms, valets, veterinarians and concessionaires, would be photographed, fingerprinted and have their pasts closely scrutinized in applying to the commission for work permits.

Heavy fines and prison sentences would be meted out to those convicted of violating commission regulations.

Fuel Stocks Rise Slightly During Week

WASHINGTON (AP) — Oil imports and U.S. stocks of crude oil and gasoline crept upward last week. But energy chief William E. Simon said Wednesday it is still too early to step up domestic gasoline production.

Simon said it would be another three weeks before it would be safe to decide whether gasoline production, now suppressed to allow production of fuel oil, can be increased in anticipation of spring and summer demand.

Simon made these remarks in an interview minutes before the American Petroleum Institute issued its weekly statistics on U.S. oil supplies.

The API reported a three per cent increase in oil imports for the week ended Jan. 25, due to increased crude oil shipments to the U.S. west coast. But there was no indication that the impacts of the Arab oil embargo had yet "bottomed out."

Crude oil imports to the eastern United States dropped again, and so did imports of refined products.

The API, an oil industry trade organization, also reported crude oil stocks leveled off last week, ending a steep drop that subtracted some 8.6 million gallons the previous week.

Jet fuel stocks rose about 3.3 per cent last week. Stocks of distillate oil, including home heating oil and diesel fuel, declined 2.2 per cent and remained almost 35 per cent higher than a year ago, still aided by unusually mild winter weather.

Stocks of residual oil, a heavy fuel oil used by power plants, ships, industries and some residential heating, dropped 3.6 per cent, however, and were running 8 per cent behind the levels of a year ago.

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Editorials

THE ROANOKE TIMES

Wednesday, February 13, 1974

We Keep Them Well

Congressmen's Pay

Members of Congress have not had a pay raise since 1969, when they were hiked from \$30,000 a year to \$42,500. Now, a presidential pay commission has proposed (and Mr. Nixon has included in his budget) raises of 7½ per cent yearly for the next three years for members of Congress, judges and high officials of the executive branch. At the end of the three years, this would put congressional salaries close to \$53,000.

By some standards, that would not be out of line. If members of Congress had received since 1969 the 5.5 per cent annual pay increase currently recommended by presidential guidelines, they would be in the \$50,000-plus bracket already. And, many would contend, they deserve some protection against inflation too.

The trouble is that, long before inflation boarded a moon rocket, members of Congress had provided themselves some fringe benefits that still work as great hedges against inflation. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce gave a rundown on a few of them the other day. Examples:

To offset the cost of maintaining residences both in his home state and the Washington, D.C., area, \$3,000 of a congressman's salary is tax-exempt. To offset expenses of going back and forth between home and Washington, he can bill the taxpayers for as many as 38 such trips every two years. If he prefers, he can take this travel allowance in the form of \$2,250 in cash; he can also pocket what's unspent from his \$4,250 stationery allowance.

The Chamber notes, too, that Congress has set up a pension fund for its members that allows one to retire comfortably after a certain age or number of years of service.

Participation costs each member \$3,400 a year. Rep. Martha Griffiths, D-Mich., has figured that to duplicate its benefits, anyone else would have to save about \$25,000 a year after taxes over a 20-year period. The Chamber didn't mention several other congressional "perks" such as inexpensive meals in Capitol restaurants, access to a free gymnasium, junkets at government expense, insurance and the like.

All things considered, members of Congress are kept up rather well—and the rest of us pay the bill, just as we pay our own. They have no crying need for more help from us.

W-N - Tues. Mar. 5,
1974

Butler a critic of committees

Although he has admittedly benefited from "political action committees" of various groups, 6th District Rep. Caldwell Butler says he believes the committees should be outlawed if there is to be any meaningful election reform.

Butler, speaking to the Roanoke Academy of Medicine last night, described the committees that serve as conduits for campaign funds as one of

the great evils of American politics.

He said the American labor movement, which contributed \$2.7 million to candidates in the 1972 campaign, is probably the most active group.

But, he said, political action committees have been formed in industrial, agricultural and professional groups to support candidates. Committees that handle contributions, Butler explained, cannot properly serve their stated function of assisting and furnishing information to their elected representatives without the suggestion of impropriety arising from previous financial contributions.

Butler concluded, however, that he had received contributions from individual doctors and medical groups. "This was of substantial benefit to me, and I do not want to leave the impression that I was not very grateful for it."

Butler said that he is supporting legislation that would eliminate contributions through political action committees and limit contributions in federal elections to individuals or political parties and their organized campaign committees.

Touching on the Watergate issue, Butler said action of the House Judiciary Committee on the question of impeaching President Nixon is possible before Easter. "but

The World-News, Roanoke, Va., Monday, March 4, 1974

23

No showdown yet: Butler

WASHINGTON—Sixth Dist. Rep. Caldwell Butler said the House Judiciary Committee would "have to pursue it further" if the President refuses "reasonable requests" for documents and material.

Butler said in an interview that he saw no imminent difficulty in obtaining the material from the White House, but he stopped short of saying the committee should use its subpoena power in an attempt to force the issue.

"We haven't reached the stage where there's a showdown," Butler said.

"But if we make a request and the President objects and his reasons are valid, I think we'll accede to them. If not, then we'd have to pursue it further..."

Butler, a member of the committee, said the material would have to relate to the job of the presidency.

The President "always runs the risk of a confrontation with the Congress," Butler said.

"So I think it'd be the poorest of tactics to put himself in a position where that is thrust upon him. Therefore, I'd an-

ticipate that his lawyers would see that and advise him accordingly," the congressman added.

He explained that a refusal indicating contempt for Congress "would approach the circumstances where it would be impeachable" with little possibility of a judicial review "of a Congress aroused by this sort of conduct." Butler said the President's lawyers should therefore try to avoid a direct confrontation on dis-

closure.

The committee has strong rules and a good record on security, he added, so arguments based on national security have little relevance.

Asked how he felt about the President's refusal to resign, Butler said Nixon was elected for four years and "didn't say anything that surprised me."

RT Mon Mar 4 '74

Butler Expects White House Cooperation

By JACK BETTS
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Roanoke congressman Caldwell Butler says if the White House refuses "reasonable requests" for material deemed necessary by the Judiciary Committee in its impeachment inquiry, "We'd have to pursue it further."

But, the first-term Republican member of the committee stopped short of saying the committee should use its subpoena power in an attempt to force the issue.

In an interview last week, Butler said he saw no imminent difficulties in obtaining material from the president.

"The White House should cooperate with us, and if we make a reasonable request for information, the White House has no legitimate reasons to resist disclosure," Butler said.

"We haven't reached the stage where there's a showdown. But if we make a request and the President objects and his reasons are valid, I think we'll accede to them. If not, then we'd have to pursue it further."

Does that mean issuing a subpoena for the material? Butler was asked.

"I don't think there's any point in talking about it at this stage," Butler bristled. "But we've got that power."



Rep. Caldwell Butler

In response to a question on what constitutes a "reasonable" request for presidential material, Butler said, "Mrs. Nixon's diary wouldn't be reasonable. It's got to be related to the job (presidency). I expect our staff to act responsibly and professionally, and they've done so so far."

Butler declared that the President "always runs the risk of a confrontation with the Congress. And that can of itself be an impeachable offense. So I think it'd be the poorest of tactics to put him-

self in a position where that is thrust upon him. Therefore, I'd anticipate that his lawyers would see that and advise him accordingly."

Later, Butler amplified that statement.

"If the refusal (to supply material) were so aggravated as to indicate contempt for the Congress, then it seems that would approach the circumstances where it would be impeachable. Inasmuch as there is little possibility of judicial review of a Congress aroused by this sort of conduct . . . then if I were the President's lawyer I would make him aware of it. I'd try to avoid a direct confrontation on disclosure if at all possible."

And, he said, the President need not fear public disclosure of presidential documents if he cooperates with the Judiciary Committee.

"The committee has adopted pretty strong rules on security and security by the staff has been exemplary, particularly when compared with security at the Justice Department and the Senate Watergate committee. So the President's arguments against disclosure on national security grounds just don't have the same relevance."

Asked how he as a Republican felt when the President told a press conference Monday that he would not re-

sign despite signs his party faces rough going in the federal elections this year, Butler said it did not bother him.

"After all, he was elected for another four years . . . he didn't say anything that surprised me," Butler said.

Butler demurred when asked if, in light of the recent Michigan House election where a Democrat won a upset bid for Vice President Ford's old seat, Watergate would have a similar influence in the Old Dominion.

"Well, I can't speculate on that. It was a Republican disaster relating to a vote of no confidence in that district for the party candidate," he said.

"But I think the incumbents, who had absolutely no responsibility in Watergate, are going to be tested this

year. And I think the Democrats — especially in the south where there are more — are going to be in even more jeopardy from Watergate than anybody. Why? Because I think they're under pressure from the Democratic leadership to impeach. They're going after 'em, and that puts them squarely on the spot," he said.

Butler view goes into bill

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The House Administration Committee has approved an amendment offered by Roanoke Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., limiting donations by individuals to \$1,000 per candidate in federal elections.

The committee, which is considering campaign finance reform measures, approved Butler's measure by an 18-7 vote after rejecting other amendments, including one that would have limited donations to \$15,000.

3-3-74

Rep. Butler Appointed To Bicentennial Board

Times Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., of Roanoke was named Thursday to the board of directors of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration.

In a brief speech on the House floor, Speaker Carl Albert, D-Okla., appointed Butler and Democrat Rep. Lindy Boggs of Louisiana to the board. A day earlier, Vice President Gerald Ford appointed the Senate's two representatives, Sen. Edward

Brooke, R-Mass., and Sen. Joseph Montoya, D-N.M., to the bicentennial board.

They will join Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton, Bicentennial Administrator John Warner, who is now completing a stint as secretary of the Navy, and five others to be chosen later.

The function of the board will be to advise the administration and approve or disapprove expenditures for projects to celebrate the nation's 200th birthday in 1976.

RT
March
29, 74

Editorials

THE ROANOKE TIMES

Sunday, March 10, 1974

on probation for three years. shopping centers.

Wed Mar 20 - RT - 74

Returns Dribbling In To Queries by Butler

By MELVILLE CARICO
Times Political Writer

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler is beginning to get the first returns from his questionnaire to constituents—the first two questions deal with impeachment of President Nixon—but a spokesman in his Washington office said they have not been tabulated.

Butler is a member of the House Judiciary Committee which has the impeachment resolution.

The congressman's press secretary, Richard Cullen, said a questionnaire was mailed to every "postal patron" in the 6th District—the Roanoke-Lynchburg-Staunton triangle—which means one went to every house and post office box.

He estimated 170,000 were mailed in this way.

This is the first questionnaire for the freshman congressman and Cullen said the staff does not know how long it will take to tabulate the replies.

"In your opinion, should the President of the United States be impeached and removed

from office ...?" the recipient is asked first.

The second question asks if the President should be impeached and removed from office "for the misconduct of his subordinates even if it were established that the President had no personal knowledge of their misconduct and had not consented to it."

Prior knowledge of Watergate may be the key decision Butler and other members of the Judiciary Committee may have to make in voting for or against sending the impeachment proceedings to the House floor.

Other questions reflect congressional concern over the gasoline shortage and the energy crisis.

Butler wants to know if his constituents favor keeping year-round Daylight Saving Time, permit removal of pollution control devices on automobiles if it saves gasoline, and whether they feel wage and price controls have "been helpful in combating inflation."

Mr. Butler Has Some Questions

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler is taking the political pulse of his constituents with a mailed questionnaire to every household in the Sixth District—about 170,000 of them. The people will have an opportunity to register their views on a number of issues that Mr. Butler and his colleagues may be voting on in 1974.

The list starts with impeachment. It continues with questions on daylight saving time, automobile anti-pollution devices, wage and price controls, abortion, campaign financing and voter registration, and trade with the Soviet Union. The postal patron can check off his choices among a number of answers and send his questionnaire back to Mr. Butler postage-free.

The questions necessarily are broad. The job of tabulating returns would be magnified—perhaps made unwieldy—if the people were asked an opinion on every option the Congressman might face. It is generally sufficient to get responses that simply indicate how the wind is blowing from the Sixth District.

On at least one topic, however, the Butler questionnaire is loaded—inadvertently, we are sure. It cites the Constitutional grounds for impeachment, then asks (italics ours): "In your opinion, should the

President of the United States be impeached and removed from office in accord with the above?"

An unfortunate result of such phrasing can be to reinforce the mistaken impression that many people hold, that impeachment is the same thing as removal from office. Impeachment is only a challenge to an officeholder's fitness, roughly comparable to indictment in a court of law. Some of Mr. Nixon's supporters even contend that impeachment is desirable to give him a forum in which to clear himself; to favor impeachment is not necessarily to favor removal.

It will be interesting to see how the Congressman's constituents react to the notion of ousting the President. But as a practical matter, the most that Mr. Butler can be called upon to do as a House member is vote yea or nay on impeachment, the challenge. The charges would then be tried by Messrs. Harry Byrd and William Scott and others in the Senate.

This is no condemnation of the questionnaire. Polls cannot always substitute for personal judgment, but every member of Congress needs to sound out his people from time to time. We urge citizens of the Sixth District to give thoughtful consideration to the questions—and to mail back their replies.

Mr. Butler's loaded question

W-N
Mar 18 '74

Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., has contributed to the confusion over impeachment. The confusion arises in this question, put to his constituency:

"In your opinion, should the President of the United States be impeached and removed from office...?"

As the question shows, two actions are involved. One is the House impeachment—the bringing of charges—which Mr. Butler ultimately will have to vote upon. If the House brings impeachment charges, the Senate will conduct the trial and render a verdict.

By fusing the two actions into one

question, Rep. Butler has diluted the value of the response. "At this point in time," the majority of his constituency would probably vote No to both questions, if they were separated.

But there is a growing number who are weary of the subject and would be willing to let the Senate decide the question and bring an end to the matter.

As a member of the House Judiciary Committee, which must make the first decision on the subject, Mr. Butler knows full well the two distinct parts of the impeachment process. He should either clarify his questionnaire or be prepared to junk the responses.

COLONEL FRANK L. HOLLAND CHAPTER
RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES
ROANOKE, VIRGINIA

Butler



March 31, 1974

6:30 - 7:45 PM - SOCIAL

7:50 PM - INVOCATION
LTC Guy A. Ritter

8:00 PM - DINNER

8:45 PM - PROGRAM

Welcome to Wives and Guests
Maj. Sewell

Introduction of 1973-1974 Officers
Maj. Sewell

1973-1974 President Speaks
Maj. Sewell

Introduction of Guests and Dignitaries
Maj. Clemens

Speaker
Honorable M. Caldwell Butler

Introduction of New Officers
LTC Sykes

Installation of Officers
Honorable M. Caldwell Butler

1974-1975 President Speaks
Maj. Alouf

9:30 PM - ADJOURNMENT - Maj. Sewell

M I S S I O N

The object of this association is to support and promote the development and execution of a military policy for the United States which will provide adequate National Security and to promote fellowship among all officers of all branches of the Service. (By Laws)

OFFICERS 1974 - 1975

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MAJ. Raymond T. Alouf, USAR

Vice President
MAJ Rodney W. McNeil, ARNG

Vice President
MAJ Donald J. Bean, USAR

Vice President
MAJ Carlos Harris, USAR

Secretary
CWO R. L. Rosenbaum, USAR

Treasurer
LTC Philip W. Eddy, USAR

Judge Advocate
MAJ Gerald O. Clemens, USAR

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COL Peter G. Brandetsas, USAR

Chaplain
LTC Guy A. Ritter, USAR

Historian
LTC Rawley M. (Ike) Baldock, AUS RET.

Sergeant-at-Arms
CPT Bobby L. Tuck, ARNG

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President
MAJ. Stephen H. Sewell, Jr., USAR

Vice President
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Vice President
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Surgeon
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Chaplain
LTC Guy A. Ritter, USAR

Historian
LTC Rawley M. (Ike) Baldock, AUS RET.

Sergeant-at-Arms
MAJ Donald J. Bean, USAR

R-T. Thurs. April 4 '74

Rep. Butler Would Welcome President's Campaign Support

Times Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., said Wednesday night he would welcome presidential campaigning in his behalf this fall but that, as a member of the House Judiciary Committee considering impeachment, it would be "inappropriate" for him to invite the President to do so.

Speaking at what was billed as a four-member panel from the Judiciary Committee, but turned out to be a Butler press conference when the others failed to show, the congressman said he would vote on impeachment according to his conscience and not necessarily how the majority of his constituents told him to, "the job is not worth it" to do otherwise, he said.

But, he added, "there are a damn few people here (in Congress) that don't try to bring both together."

Butler spoke and answered journalists' questions for about half an hour at the Washington Press Club. Three other Judiciary Committee members stayed behind to listen to debate on a consumer protection agency bill, but Butler said he had learned he could make the engagement and still return in time to

vote on the legislation Wednesday.

Butler, asked whether he would want the President to resign rather than risk an impeachment proceeding, said no. He then was asked whether he would like the President to campaign for him.

Butler hesitated, then said, "that question doesn't bother me a bit. Anybody that has the President of the United States to come campaign for him has a real plus for him, and I'd welcome him in my district."

"But having said that, I do think it would be inappropriate for a member of the Judiciary Committee to ask him (to come in). So, for that reason, I would not invite him," Butler said.

Butler also made these remarks:

— Asked if he'd favor televising proceedings if the House debates impeachment, Butler said he would not because of the House's function as a grand jury, where matters are secret. But, he said, if the House decided it wanted televised proceedings, he would not object so long as the TV equipment did not interfere with proceedings.

— Asked if former Roanoke commonwealth's attorney

Sam Garrison, who later served as an aide to Vice President Spiro Agnew had used his new position as deputy minority counsel to impede the impeachment process, Butler answered by saying it was the "full responsibility" of the committee to bring out the facts, and the responsibility of the minority staff to "react" to make sure all the facts are brought to the minority's attention.

— In response to the question of whether he would rather run next fall on the same ticket with President Nixon or with a new president, Gerald Ford, Butler first said, "You mean if I decide to come back next fall?"

After the chuckles died, he said "running with Ford as the president instead of Nixon would give Republicans a 'honeymoon situation' but added he believes it would make no difference in the heavily Republican 6th District. And, he said, if he were among those who had hounded Nixon from the presidency, "I would probably be so ashamed I would not run again."

— A final question, asked apologetically by a reporter who had asked several tough ones, was, "what do you think of motherhood?"

Said Butler, "Well, I've got four kids and you can overdo anything."

Butler's Nixon Statement Draws Tax Jibe by Democrat

R-T April 5 1974

By MELVILLE CARICO
Times Political Writer

The 6th District Democratic party chairman remarked Thursday that if President Nixon comes into the district to campaign for Rep. M. Caldwell Butler he hopes it will be on April 15—the deadline for paying federal income taxes.

"Some of us may have some tax questions he may be able to answer for us because of his personal experience," Clifton A. Woodrum III, Roanoke, added.

Woodrum's remarks were in answer to requested reaction to a statement made by Butler at a Washington press conference in which the Republican congressman from Roanoke acknowledged he would welcome President Nixon to Virginia to campaign for him this fall.

But, Butler added, he would not extend an invitation now because, he feels, it would be "inappropriate" since Butler is a member of the House Judiciary Committee which is soon to vote on impeachment.

Woodrum, whose grandfather was in Congress from this district in the 1930s and '40s, said he will announce the date of a district committee meeting next week which will fix the date for the district Democratic convention to nominate Butler's opponent this fall.

Butler has not officially announced his candidacy for reelection but it is generally assumed by leaders in both parties he will be nominated for a second term at a district convention June 11 at Natural Bridge.

President Nixon's ties with Butler from the '72 campaign

were recalled by Woodrum who said if the President comes "it might be embarrassing to the Republican candidate."

Woodrum's remark about income taxes was prompted by a White House announcement that the President has agreed to pay \$432,787 more in federal income taxes—the figure the Internal Revenue Service and a congressional committee staff both figured he still owes.

Woodrum said Butler ran in 1972 as a member of the "Nixon team" and suggested that in the coming campaign "voters may want to ask him what team he is on now and what position he plays."

Butler said in Washington that he is going to make up his own mind on impeachment and not be swayed by

what voters back home are thinking.

The first two questions on a poll Butler mailed his constituents—the results have not been tabulated, a staff member said—deal with Watergate and impeachment of President Nixon.

"I wonder why he took the poll," Woodrum said in reference to Butler's statement that he will be guided by his own conscience—not necessarily by what a majority of his constituents told him to do "because the job is not worth it."

Woodrum said he feels the Democratic candidate this fall will have a strong chance of winning because "President Nixon and his administration is going to be an issue."

The Democrats have no announced candidate for their nomination, however.

Rep. Butler Blows Whistle on a Bill

RT April 2 '74

By JACK BETTS

WASHINGTON— Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., of Roanoke, smelled a boondoggle Monday and led the House to reject a bill designed to lure the 70-year-old librarian of Congress into retirement.

The bill, sponsored by Rep. Lucien Nedzi, D-Mich., and reported from the House Administration Committee, would have allowed the librarian, L. Quincy Mumford, to be given credit for 20 years of service on the congressional retirement plan rather than the civil service system if he would retire within 30 days of enactment.

It did not, however, spell out exactly how much Mumford would receive.

Butler, a member of the administration committee for less than two weeks, voted against the bill in committee but it was approved. Monday he learned the bill would come up under the suspension calendar, a procedure used by the House for considering supposedly noncontroversial measures. The suspension calendar does not require the publishing of a committee report, which outlines such items as the money required to carry out the bill.

The 6th District Republican, however, made a quick check

with the Library of Congress personnel office and learned the bill would allow Mumford to pay \$900 into the congressional retirement fund immediately, then retire and begin receiving more than \$5,000 annually in excess of the amount he was entitled to under the civil service retirement plan.

This, thought Butler, was not only controversial but downright wrong.

He headed for the floor, where the bill was to come up. On the floor, he quickly saw he was the senior Republican from the administration committee, putting him in the unlikely position of being the minority floor leader for the

bill as well as a congressman against the bill.

He chose the latter, especially after learning that Rep. Wayne Hays, D-Ohio, chairman of the administration committee, had talked Rep. H.R. Gross, R-Iowa, the self-appointed fiscal watchdog of the House, out of opposing the measure.

Butler lost no time in putting the issue before the House. For an investment of \$900, Mumford would net \$5,000 each year for the rest of his life.

"This is a pretty good deal, when we analyze it," Butler told the House, adding that he could not support such "a means of purchasing the re-

tirement of an executive employee, however desirable that situation might be in this instance.

The House agreed, and rejected the Nedzi bill by a margin of 123 votes. It failed, 103 to 226.

Butler later said he had to "think about it pretty hard" before he decided to buck his committee chairman during his first weeks on the committee. But later, he added, Gross, whose reputation for questioning the spending of federal funds over the years has become apocryphal, congratulated Butler for his stand.

House Seat Nomination Being Sought by Roanoker

R.T
Times
Apr 11
74

By MELVILLE CARICO
Times Political Writer

Thomas J. Nolan, 29, a social worker, surfaced Wednesday as a candidate for the yet-to-be-scheduled Democratic convention nomination for Congress in the 6th District to oppose Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, one of the seven Republicans in the Virginia House delegation.

It caught Democratic leaders by surprise, although several said Nolan came to see them about running for Congress.

"I've not heretofore had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Nolan but I'm looking forward to it," Clifton A. Woodrum III, district Democratic chairman, said.

Nolan, who came to Roanoke two years ago to become director of the Office of Social Development for Catholics in the Roanoke Valley, is expected to formally announce his candidacy for the Democratic nomination at a picnic Saturday at Wasena Park.

Fliers inviting everyone to the picnic starting at 1 p.m. with the promise of free hot dogs and soft drinks were circulated Wednesday by a Tom Nolan for Congress Committee.

The 6th District committee will meet Monday night at 7:30 at the Tinker Mountain Motor Lodge to set the time and place and allocate delegates for the Democrats' con-



Thomas J. Nolan

vention to nominate Butler's opponent.

The GOP convention already has been scheduled for June 8—the last Saturday possible—at Natural Bridge and there is a strong possibility the Democrats may hold their convention the proceeding Saturday. Their 1972 convention was held at Staunton.

Nolan, a graduate of the Duke University Divinity School after getting a master's degree from Colgate, moves into a political vacuum with the Democrats so far without a formal candidate for the congressional nomination.

Party leaders said Wednesday they still think there is a 50-50 chance Willis M. Anderson, general counsel of the Shenandoah Life Insurance Co., and a lesser chance that Amherst lawyer Donald G. Pendleton, a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, may become candidates.

The announcement of the Saturday picnic said Nolan will "disclose his political plans at that time" and then hold a press conference with his committee staff.

His candidacy emerged with some party leaders strongly urging Anderson, a former mayor of Roanoke and former member of the House of Delegates, to run against Butler again. Anderson lost to Butler two years ago, a defeat some blamed on the GOP landslide created by McGovern's presidential campaign.

Anderson said Wednesday he has not made a final decision on whether to seek the Democratic nomination again.

Neither has Butler formally announced his candidacy for a second term in Washington but his staff and GOP leaders are proceeding on the assumption that he will.

One summer Nolan was an intern in the office of U.S. Sen. Philip Hart, D-Mich. Nolan was born and reared in Waverly, N.Y.

Sunday, April 7, 1974



The President With Virginia's M. Caldwell Butler
Sharing a Laugh in the Oval Office

Butler Not 'Persuadable' on Hows

By Stephen Fleming
Times-Dispatch Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The man who thought Caldwell Butler was dodging the hard questions on impeachment finally asked, "Congressman, how do you feel about Motherhood?"

"Well," Butler said and paused expertly to draw a laugh. "I have four children and I believe you can overdo anything."

The skeptical audience at the Washington Press Club loved it and broke up in a good mood, not minding much that three other, better-known members of the House Judiciary Committee had not shown up.

On the back row, an old woman was impressed. Throughout Butler's solitary question-and-answer ordeal, she kept snorting, "He's a Republican, all right." But when it was over, she confided, "He certainly is articulate. He said all the wrong things, but he said them damn well."

As a freshman member of the Judiciary Committee with only the distinction that he will be the first Virginian in Congress to vote on the question of impeachment for Richard M. Nixon, Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke does not expect to be singled out for public notice.

THAT'S WHY HE WAS surprised to be asked to be a panelist at the Washington Press Club. He figured it had something to do with Newsweek listing him as a "persuadable" Republican. With two senior committee members and the slightly famous Democratic freshman, Barbara C. Jordan of Texas, also on the panel, Butler did not

expect to have much of the spotlight at the press club Wednesday night.

As it turned out, news of Nixon's back taxes and the absence of the other committee members left him with no spotlight at all. When CBS correspondent Connie Chung saw that Butler would be alone, she told her crew to click off the klieg lights and break down their gear.

That left Butler to face an hour of tough questions from people who had him pegged as a Republican who wanted to limit the grounds for impeachment, to give Nixon a chance to mount a public defense at every step of the proceedings, and to stay away from questions of political liability.

He said nothing to change their view. They were impatient with the subtleties of his justifications. He stayed pegged.

THE OFFICIAL BIOGRAPHICAL sketch of Butler includes this sentence: "He is generally considered one of the architects of the two party system in Virginia."

Translated, that means he fought hard for years against the Democratic monolith of the Byrd Organization to build a party that finally elected another mountain Republican, Linwood Holton, as governor.

During his 10 years in the Virginia House of Delegates, Butler earned the reputation of a smart and fierce partisan. One of the state's most loyal Republican districts, the 6th, sent him to Congress in 1972.

Now this fierce partisan faces a horrifying prospect. Butler knows that he may have to vote to impeach his party's President. More than that, he knows he may have to vote in committee to recommend impeachment to the full House.

If that happens — and Butler insists that "if" qualifies all his thoughts on impeachment — he will not be voting, as some other Republicans say they will, simply to give Nixon a chance at a trial before the Senate.

"I THINK IT'S A TOTAL cop-out to say we are guaranteeing him a fair trial by impeachment," Butler says. "There's nothing in the whole American system of government that says you charge a man with something so he can clear himself. That just isn't the way we do things."

"If we have access to all the facts, then it becomes [the Judiciary Committee's] job to decide ... whether in our opinion these facts justify removal from office. That's what impeachment is all about."

Butler believes the committee will have all the facts, believes that Nixon will ultimately provide the committee with all the material it wants. Not everyone agrees.

If the committee does not get all the facts, Butler says, "then we do fall back on, 'the evidence before us indicates probable cause.' And that's when the grand jury analogy holds."

The grand jury analogy is what everyone grabs

Continued on Page 3, Col. 1



M. Caldwell Butler Ponders Committee's Duty
You Can't 'Take Yourself Too Seriously'

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Telegram

PURCHASE
TION SUITS!



The President With Virginia's M. Caldwell Butler
Sharing a Laugh in the Oval Office

Butler Not 'Persuadable' on Hows

By Stephen Fleming
Times-Dispatch Staff Writer

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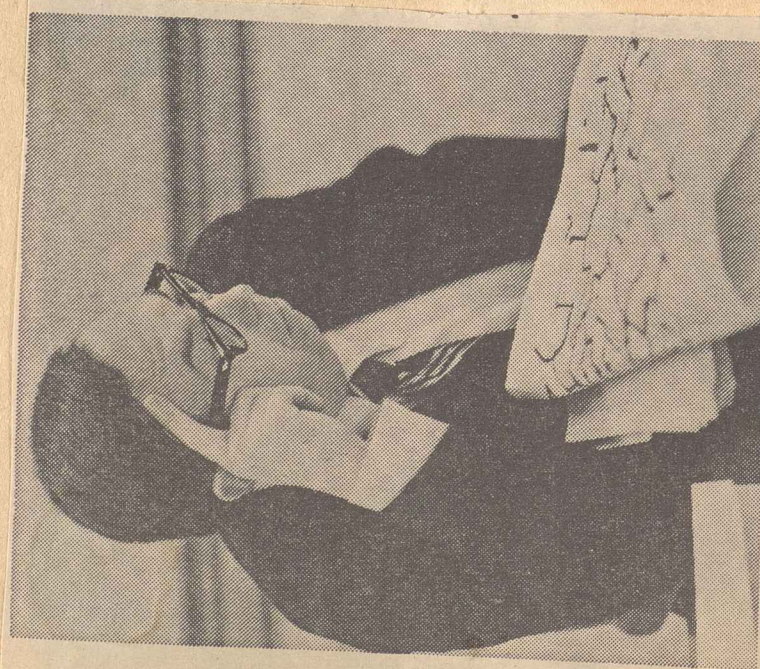
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The grand jury analogy is what everyone grabs

Continued on Page 3, Col. 1



M. Caldwell Butler Ponders Committee's Duty
You Can't Take Yourself Too Seriously

One Distinction

Butler's Firm

On Procedures

Continued From First Page

onto now to make sense out of impeachment. If a majority of the House votes for impeachment, it will be making specific charges against the President just as a grand jury presents charges in an indictment. There would be a trial in the Senate where a two-thirds vote would be necessary to remove Nixon from office.

BUTLER SEES significant differences between a grand jury and the House Judiciary Committee sitting on impeachment. First, a grand jury sits in secret. Second, the committee has resources that no grand jury could draw on.

"We've got the largest investigative staff, I suspect, ever assembled," Butler said. "We've got partisans actively pursuing it on both sides. To me it would be absolutely ridiculous for us to spend all this money and all this effort and all this energy and then come out and say, 'There's probable cause that such and such has happened.'"

In essence, Butler is saying a committee impeachment vote should declare straight-out that the members believe Nixon is guilty of specific offenses and should be removed.

The public nature of the House deliberations means, Butler thinks, "that we almost — but not quite — have the situation of two trials where the accused is not in double jeopardy, certainly, but has double defense."

FOR THAT REASON Butler thinks the President's lawyer, James D. St. Clair, should be allowed to cross-examine witnesses before the committee. He repeated that justification for the press club and found himself confronting a sea of skeptical faces.

The cross-examination issue is a big one in Washington now. Those against it argue that Nixon will be tried in the Senate where he can mount a defense; he has no right to representation in the House.

Butler counters, "It's not a matter of right. It's a matter of grace, but I think we've got to be gracious. The House Judiciary Committee has a responsibility to be as fair as possible. The Congress is in disrepute now, too. This is our change to redeem it."

WHEN BUTLER'S SESSION at the press club was over, a man approached with a private question. Had Butler thought about whether the President, in case he is impeached, should use his constitutional option and step down temporarily during the Senate trial?

"I've thought about it enough to know I won't answer the question now," Butler said. Then he laughed, a sudden open laugh that takes the bite off his wit. The man went away satisfied he had gotten an honest answer.

It is probably too much to ask a political man to tell you all that he is thinking. Butler has a reputation for being candid because he admits that he is thinking things he won't tell you.

Of course, he won't tell you what he is thinking about the merits of impeachment evidence. He will tell you he intends to vote with that evidence regardless of the political consequences.

"The job's just not that good to sacrifice your intellectual integrity," Butler says.

HE HASSENT OUT questionnaires to constituents but said, "I deliberately told my staff not to count them, not to speculate on them." He says he would not run if his vote, whichever way it went, caused enough dissatisfaction among 6th District Republicans. But he tells you he won't have a chance to find that out because the impeachment vote will probably come after the June deadline for becoming a candidate.

"I like the job," he said. The business of Congress goes on as the Judiciary Committee investigators work. Butler has acquired a secondary assignment on the House Administration Committee which is working on election law reform.

He knows his efforts there won't hurt him with the voters. Politically, he does not look forward to the impeachment vote he must take within the next few months. But he does not mind having an appointment with history.

Butler says he tries to keep that appointment in perspective. After all, he is only a freshman on a 38-member committee. At one point as he explored the issue of impeachment in his office, he stopped in mid-sentence.

"You know, when you answer a question like that you've got to be careful not to take yourself too seriously."

R.T. Apr 9
1974

Butler Urges Vote on Role Of Attorney

By WAYNE WOODLIEF
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., drew an estimate Monday from a leading Democrat on the House Judiciary Committee that "a majority" of Democrats would favor President Nixon's attorneys playing a role in the impeachment inquiry.

If that is indeed the case, Butler told the House of Representatives in a speech, "it's a waste of time" for the committee to further debate whether presidential attorney James T. St. Clair should be present and able to cross-examine witnesses during the committee's impeachment inquiry.

"We should go ahead and vote on that and get on to other matters," the Roanoke Republican said. He spoke during a special one-hour discussion of the impeachment issue, separate from regular House business.

Butler asked Rep. Don Edwards, D-Calif., a ranking Democrat on the committee, how many other Democrats on the committee support Edwards' view that the President's counsel should be afforded representation during the inquiry. The question came after Edwards, during the debate, said many Democrats "are just as interested as the Republicans in seeing the President gets a square deal."

Edwards said he had not polled his colleagues, but he generally knows "their views on due process" and many of them have opposed past congressional committee interrogations of witnesses without proper representation. He cited the House Un-American Activities Committee as an example.

"A majority, I think, would take the very fair point of view" on due process for the President, Edwards told Butler.

Butler Shows His Independence

2-10-74

By Charles McDowell

Times-Dispatch Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia was the only Republican on the Judiciary Committee who sided with the Democratic majority Thursday on what appeared at the time to be a significant vote in the impeachment inquiry.

The freshman congressman from Roanoke sided with the majority on a 22-16 vote against narrowing the subpoena for White House tapes and documents.

Subsequently, most of the Republicans went along with the broader subpoena after specific dates and times of transcripts were substituted for more general language that had been used to describe a part of the material.

The final vote on the historic subpoena "commanding" President Nixon to produce the evidence was 34 to 3, Butler again with the majority. So Butler's earlier vote was more or less academic, except as a symbol of the independence he has shown throughout the inquiry.



M. Caldwell Butler
Time to Be Firm

HE WAS SHARPLY critical of the Democrats on the committee for planning Thursday's procedures in "secret caucus," and he denounced them in the committee meeting for limiting debate on the subpoena.

As for his vote with the Democrats for the original version of the subpoena containing language that the other Republicans found too general, Butler said he had reason to believe that the President's counsel, James D. St. Clair, was "well aware" of exactly what material the committee wanted from the White House. The committee staff and St. Clair have been talking privately for weeks.

Butler said he went to the morning meeting of the committee reluctant to vote for any subpoena. He believed the White House might need more time to review the transcripts, as it had said, and that St. Clair would send word that the material would be forthcoming as it was reviewed.

During the meeting, the committee staff was in touch with the White House, and Butler gathered that "the stuff was almost

Continued on Page 2, Col. 1

Butler's Vote Shows His Independence

Continued From First Page

ready now but he [St. Clair] wasn't ready to let us have it." Butler concluded that "the time has come to be firm."

BUTLER SAID HE was disappointed by the "vagueness of recent statements" from the White House and by the "systematic fall-back positions that White House counsel has employed." He said the Judiciary Committee had to assert that it would determine what evidence it wanted for the inquiry.

He said St. Clair was "playing games." Butler added: "I think it's a mistake to be anything less than totally candid at this stage of the game . . . If they had been more candid, we would have been more sympathetic."

Butler said it was "demeaning" for the White House to have "behaved in the manner it has."

As for the Judiciary Committee, Butler said its heavy vote for the subpoena had eliminated "the partisan flavor" of disagreements earlier in the day. Continuation of an essentially nonpartisan inquiry is essential if the committee's ultimate recommendations are to be accepted, he said.

Butler was asked if he or the committee had made up their minds on impeachment. He replied, "Absolutely not."

In authorizing the subpoena, Butler said, "the committee acted responsibly and with dignity, and I have no apologies for being a part of it."

Committee votes to order Nixon to give up tapes

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House Judiciary Committee today ordered President Nixon to turn over by April 25 all tapes and other materials requested by the committee for its impeachment inquiry.

In directing 34 to 3 that a subpoena be issued for the evidence, the committee rejected a last-minute offer by the White House to deliver some of the taped conversations within a few days.

The offer, made 45 minutes before the committee met in the morning, came in a telephone call from White House lawyer James St. Clair to John Doar, chief counsel of the committee.

It led to a partisan split in the committee. Republicans urged it be accepted. But the Democratic majority said the committee, which made its request last Feb. 25, has waited long enough.

Doar said James St. Clair said he would be willing to give the committee within the next few days a number of specific conversations between President Nixon and his chief aides that the committee believes relate to the Watergate cover-up.

Doar said that in his talk with St. Clair the White House lawyer did not indicate whether Nixon would comply with a subpoena.

The confrontation that has been building since Feb. 25 when the request was made became all but certain Wednesday after the White House said it would not decide until after April 22 what it would give to the committee.

The White House position, spelled out in a letter from St. Clair antagonized committee members of both parties and a wide segment of the House.

"I think it was offensive to the House," said Rep. Edward Hutchinson, R-Mich., the senior Republican on the committee.

"It was insulting in every paragraph," said Rep. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., a committee member.

Most committee members said they thought the committee had been patient long enough and had no alternative

now but to subpoena the tapes, which cover conversations between Nixon and his aides that the committee thinks relate to the Watergate break-in and cover-up.

Even among those who support issuance of a subpoena, however, there is concern over the consequences if Nixon refuses to honor it.

The committee, claiming its authority from the Constitution to subpoena evidence, is determined to avoid turning to the courts for enforcement.

Some members feel the best course of action would be to let an unanswered subpoena become an article of impeachment when the committee finally makes its recommendation to the House.

Butler in favor of tape subpoena

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Rep. Caldwell Butler said today he intends to vote later today for a House Judiciary Committee subpoena of six White House tapes.

The Roanoke Republican was the only GOP member of the committee to break party lines in a morning vote within the committee on a Republican amendment to delete two of the tapes from the proposed subpoena.

The vote was 22-16, with Butler joining 21 Democrats in opposing the amendment.

Earlier, however, Butler had chastised the Democratic majority for limiting debate on the historic impeachment-subpoena question.

He said, "I expect there was full debate within the secrecy of the Democratic caucus ... it will shame us not to have full public debate on this issue."

THE ROANOKE

Vol. 175, No. 101

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Roanoke, Virginia, Friday, April 12, 1974

Probers Subpoena Tapes; Compromise Try Rejected

New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — The House Judiciary Committee voted 33 to 3 Thursday to issue a subpoena ordering President Nixon to turn over all tapes and other materials requested by the committee in its impeachment inquiry.

Rejecting a last-minute compromise offer, after 45 days of negotiations and delay, the committee decided to subpoena the material and set an April 25 deadline for compliance two days after Congress returns from the Easter recess which begins Friday.

The final vote on the subpoena came shortly after the committee returned from a recess at 1:30 p.m. It had been preceded by nearly an hour and a half of debate touched off when the motion to subpoena was introduced at 10:30 a.m.

by Rep. Harold D. Donohue, D-Mass. All but three of the Republican members present and voting supported the final motion to subpoena.

Thursday's vote was said by committee counsel to be the first time a president has been subpoenaed by a committee of the House. The only other president investigated for impeachment, Andrew Johnson, was never subpoenaed but was summoned to appear at the Senate trial of the articles of impeachment.

James D. St. Clair, special counsel to the President for Watergate matters, attempted to head off the subpoena 45 minutes before the committee met. He called the impeachment inquiry's chief counsel, John M. Doar, with an offer to provide tapes and documents in four of the six areas under investigation

A Republican-sponsored amendment based on that compromise offer was introduced but defeated by a 2-to-1 margin. In the end, even Republicans who supported the compromise amendment rejected St. Clair's offer.

Rep. Robert McClory, R-Ill., and second-ranking minority member of the committee, held out for compromise. Shortly before the final vote, McClory, with obvious reluctance, concluded: "The offer is too equivocal and too conditional." He then cast his vote for subpoena.

At issue in the matter is a collection of 41 or 42 taped conversations between the President and his aides. It represents the first information the impeachment inquiry has asked of the White House that has not already been provided

ed to one of the other bodies investigating the Watergate scandal.

Specifically, the committee initially asked, on Feb. 25 for tapes of conversations between the President and various aides during February, March and April, 1973.

The tapes cover the period during which, according to sworn testimony of some participants, Nixon was being told by his aides of White House involvement in the Watergate cover-up.

A statement accompanying the subpoena, which outlines why the material is relevant to the impeachment inquiry, clearly indicates the inquiry staff believes these taped conversations will either support or refute Nixon's claim that he was not personally involved in the efforts to obstruct investigations into the Watergate scandal.

Vote Splits Rep. Butler, Party Role

By JACK BETTS

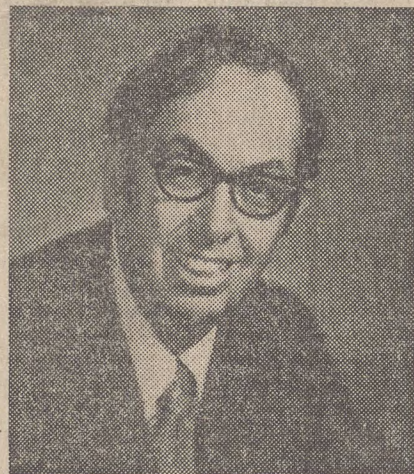
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke broke party ranks Thursday in the House Judiciary Committee session when he split from other Republicans on a key vote to limit the scope of the subpoena for 42 White House tapes.

Butler, a freshman from Virginia's predominantly GOP 6th congressional district, was the lone member to break party ranks in a 22-16 defeat of an amendment that would have limited two of six different categories of White House conversations asked for by the committee in the subpoena and in previous letters to White House Chief Defense Counsel James D. St. Clair. There are 21 Democrats and 17 Republicans on the committee.

The amendment, offered by Rep. David Dennis, R-Ind., would have eliminated the demands for all recordings of the President's conversations with former aide John Ehrlichman during the period April 14-17, 1973, and with former attorney general Richard Kleindienst and assistant attorney general Henry Petersen during the period April 15-18, 1973.

Republicans sought to strike the two categories after committee counsel John Doar revealed he had been telephoned just before the meeting by St. Clair, who offered to release the tapes falling into



M. Caldwell Butler

four specific categories requested by the committee in exchange for an agreement with the committee not to issue a subpoena.

St. Clair's last-minute offer, characterized later by Butler as "playing games," ultimately failed, but not before minority members had their say.

That included a blast at the committee chairman, Rep. Peter Rodino, D-N.J., by Butler for limiting the debate on the amendment to 30 minutes, which gave each member only one minute to express their opinions and ask questions of Doar.

Butler said, "I cannot endorse the systematic fall-back procedure the White House has used this morning," adding that his intention was to vote for the subpoena "in whatever form it may take."

However, he added, "I suspect there was full debate within the secrecy of the Democratic caucus on this and it would shame us not to have a full public debate."

Later Butler was asked by The Roanoke



President Nixon

noke Times to describe what he knew of the secret Democratic caucus he referred to in the debate. He replied, "All I know is what I read in the paper this morning."

During Butler's one minute of debate, Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman, D-N.Y. interrupted with a parliamentary inquiry and Butler barked, "I hope this isn't coming out of my one minute, Mr. Chairman."

After the laughter died down, Rodino grinned, "No, and the record shows you have six seconds left."

After a noon recess, Butler joined the majority of the committee in voting 33-3 to issue the subpoena. Several members, including Butler, had expected the White House to send a written offer of some of the requested material to stave off a subpoena, but it was not forthcoming.

Butler said during a press conference following the vote he had heard several Republicans were trying to ar-

See Page 2, Col. 2

Quick footwork stops boondoggle

By JACK BETTS

Ledger-Star Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., of Roanoke smelled a boondoggle Monday and led the House to reject a bill designed to lure the 70-year-old librarian of Congress into retirement.

The bill, sponsored by Rep. Lucien Nedzi, D-Mich., and reported from the House Administration Committee, would have allowed the librarian, L. Quincy Mumford, to be given credit for 20 years of service on the Congressional Retirement Plan rather than the Civil Service System if he would retire within 30 days of enactment.

It did not, however, spell out exactly how much Mumford would receive.

Butler, a member of the Administration Committee for less than two weeks, voted against the bill in committee but it was approved. Monday, he learned the bill would come up under the Suspension Calendar, a procedure used by the House for considering supposedly non-controversial measures. The Suspension Calendar does not require the publishing of a committee report, which outlines such items as the money required to carry out the bill.

The Sixth District Republican, however, made a quick check with the Library of Congress personnel office and learned that the bill would allow Mumford to pay \$9,000 into the Congressional Retirement Fund immediately, then retire and begin receiving more than \$5,000 annually in excess of the amount he was entitled to under the Civil Service retirement plan.

This, thought Butler, was not only controversial but downright wrong.

He headed for the floor, where the bill was to come up. On the



BUTLER

floor, he quickly saw he was the senior Republican from the Administration Committee, putting him in the unlikely position of being the Minority Floor Leader for the bill as well as a congressman against the bill.

He chose the latter, especially after learning Rep. Wayne Hays, D-Ohio, chairman of the Administration Committee, had talked Rep. H. R. Gross, R-Iowa, the self-appointed fiscal watchdog of the House, out of opposing the measure.

Butler lost no time in putting the issue before the House. For an investment of \$9,000, Mumford would net \$5,000 each year for the rest of his life.

"This is a pretty good deal, when we analyze it," Butler told the House, adding that he could not support such as "a means of purchasing the retirement of an executive employe, however desirable that situation might be in this instance."

LEWIS RAWLS, JR.
100, 110 BANK STREET
FOLK, VIRGINIA 23434

April 4, 1974

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unity to continue this good work.
are quite proud of you, and we
ur good wife, to whom you owe so
best.

Sincerely,

Lewis
ldwell Butler
ESS

House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

APR 08 1974

J. LEWIS RAWLS, JR.
SUITE 100, 110 BANK STREET
SUFFOLK, VIRGINIA 23434

April 4, 1974

Dear Caldwell:

It seems to me that you have grown quite conservative. When I read the enclosed article, I knew I would have been doing something about this, but was greatly surprised to learn that you have this concern for the taxpayer (me).

Please see that a few of these little deals are left open in the event peanut oil and the practice of law lead me to employment in the Library of Congress.

Seriously and sincerely, I was glad to see the good publicity for you, and hope that you will have the opportunity to continue this good work. Mary Helen and I are quite proud of you, and we send you and your good wife, to whom you owe so much, our very best.

Sincerely,

Enclosure

Honorable M. Caldwell Butler
Member of Congress
House Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20515

APR 08 1974

9

Charles McDowell

April 14

The Virginian On the Committee

WASHINGTON — Wasn't that Caldwell Butler being interviewed in this neighborhood on this page last Sunday? Wasn't that him again Friday, on the front page? And hasn't that been him in newspapers all over the state, talking about impeachment?

Yes, Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia has been in the papers a lot lately, not just in Virginia but all over. Television and radio stations are interviewing him and inviting him to be on panels. His colleagues have begun to ask his advice and treat him with a shade of deference that is not customary for freshman congressmen.

If this 48-year-old Republican from Roanoke looks startled by all the attention, maybe it is because he always looks somewhat startled. His eyes, framed by heavy glasses, seem to pop in perpetual surprise in a long, solemn face. But he isn't really surprised very often. He isn't really solemn either. The twangy drawl of the Roanoke Valley may seem slow, but he thinks fast. And quite frequently.



McDowell

Butler's sudden prominence in Washington is attributable to his membership on the House Judiciary Committee, which is conducting the impeachment inquiry. He is emerging as one of the most articulate and thoughtful members — and as one who is setting his own course by his own sense of lawyerly logic and reasonableness.

THE OTHER DAY Butler voted with the Democratic majority of the committee against a Republican motion to narrow the scope of the historic subpoena for the President's tapes and documents. He was the only

one of the 17 Republicans on the 38-member committee who did so.

Most of the Republicans later went along with the broad subpoena — after insisting that some items of the required material be described more specifically — and the final vote to serve the subpoena on President Nixon was 33 to 3.

Butler was among the 33 and glad for the return of bipartisanship. But he said the original draft of the subpoena had been reasonable by his lights because the White House knew exactly what transcripts the committee wanted and should produce the evidence without "playing games."

His willingness to desert the other Republicans on the issue had a considerable impact on observers of the grim drama of the impeachment inquiry. They began seeking out Virginians and asking what kind of congressman is this fellow Butler.

Well, he is a gut Republican. He came out of a part of Virginia where party loyalty is strong, particularly among Republicans, with whom politics gets pretty close to a religion. Butler is skeptical of Democrats on sight and fights them almost by reflex. He was the Republican leader in the Virginia House of Delegates, and he has been a disciplined party man in the House of Representatives.

He is a conservative. Americans for Democratic Action gave Butler a flat zero as his "liberal quotient" during his first session of Congress. He has been among the stronger supporters of President Nixon's legislative program.

BUTLER'S APPROACH TO IMPEACHMENT is conservative, too. He is cautious about the process, wary of being too zealous. He wants to give the President the benefit of the doubt. He thinks Congress has to carry a heavy burden of proof and carry it a long way.

As he told Stephen Fleming in an interview published in The Times-Dispatch last Sunday, he is not comfortable with the idea that the House could find "probable cause" and pass the case along to the Senate to decide guilt or innocence. He thinks the House as a practical matter has to face up to guilt or innocence. If the House gets all the facts, Butler says, its job is to decide "whether in our opinion those facts justify removal from office."

If the House does not get all the facts, then Butler might well fall back on the "probable cause" theory.

He was increasingly troubled and his patience was worn thin last week by the reluctance of the White House to produce the facts the committee wants. He shook his head over the "vagueness of recent statements" from the White House and what he called the "cute" tactics of the President's counsel.

Butler said the committee had been reasonable and dignified but the White House maneuvering had been "demeaning." He said he hoped the President would not persist in the "serious mistake" of withholding any evidence the committee seeks. And he added: "If there is a refusal to produce material, there is a presumption that there is adverse material in it."

So, whatever the White House has been trying to do, it has been seriously less than reassuring to a conservative Republican lawyer from Roanoke on the Judiciary Committee.

Editorials

THE ROANOKE TIMES

Tuesday, April 16, 1974

No Meaningful Reform

Democrats Duck

Some Democrats are showing uncommon zeal these days about political reform, so long as it is aimed at somebody else. The citizens' lobby Common Cause nailed the party's lapels to the wall with a full-page newspaper advertisement in Washington on the very day, March 21, when Democrats were milking the special interests at a fund-raising dinner for senators and representatives. It pointed out how House Democratic leaders have debated, delayed and diddled with campaign reform legislation, doing nothing to bring it to floor action.

The most scandalous actor in this drama has been Wayne Hays of Ohio. He is chairman of both the House committee handling reform legislation and of the Democrats' Congressional Campaign Committee—a clear conflict of interest. Mr. Hays promised last year to report out a bill the House could go over paragraph by paragraph; now he says he will seek a rule so that House members cannot amend it on the floor. Apparently, he does not want to risk passage of meaningful reform.

That's not all there is in Mr. Hays' history. Much has been made of the high-powered, undercover fund-raising drive Maurice Stans conducted for the Nixon campaign during the three months before the 1971 campaign finance bill took effect, but David Broder has written in *The Atlantic* that the three-month delay was engineered by Hays to allow for a last-minute Democratic fund collection—in secret.

Common Cause has an agenda for campaign reform to remove

the corruptive effect of special-interest money: (1) a mixed system involving public funds and small private contributions for congressional and presidential elections; (2) an independent enforcement agency; (3) strict ceilings on contributions; (4) reasonable limits on campaign spending.

That is a program everyone can understand and, we think, a majority can support. Democrats in Congress, taking covert delight in Watergate's effect on Republicans, may think they can pass counterfeit reform and mollify the public. We have recently had proof, however, of Lincoln's dictum that all the people can't be fooled all the time. And they will be doubly alert lest they be fooled again.

Mr. Butler's Stand

Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler has not shown any leanings about an impeachment of President Nixon except as a trial might be a device to get rid of the Watergate burdens. Like the distinguished Senator Aiken, R-Vt., Mr. Butler has suggested it might be a good idea to "impeach or cease fire."

In the light of past statements, Mr. Butler's vote to subpoena tapes and documents from the White House was a non-partisan vote. It implied no opinion on impeachment; it was an opinion that the evidence should be produced, that the Congress should be respected. Mr. Butler's fairness should be commended. Other House Judiciary Committee members, Democrats and Republicans, should do as well.

Burrell Begins New Psychiatric Service Today

R-T- (April 22, 74)

By JOANNE POINDEXTER
Times Staff Writer

The fourth floor of Burrell Memorial Hospital has taken on a new appearance.

As of today, it is a psychiatric inpatient unit catering to persons living in the areas covered by the 5th Planning District who suffer from emotional problems.

The 20-bed facility, headed by Dr. Albert W. Moser, a psychiatrist, is decorated in

bright colors and has non-breakable windows — without bars. It has its own dining and reading rooms and a special lobby for patients to visit with relatives.

Two small "quiet rooms" at the west end of the unit are for patients who need "mostly love, affection and care" because under their present condition, they tend to want to escape and react differently, Dr. Moser said.

All patients at the short-term facility, sponsored by Mental Health Services of the Roanoke Valley and Burrell, will benefit from an adjunctive therapy area, behind what was a nurse's station and medicine closet.

This area, Dr. Moser said, is a place where a patient can absorb his time and attention in getting a new perspective on himself and on what he wants to do.

Patients, under the directions of a therapist, will also utilize Roanoke Valley establishments which may benefit them, Moser said.

The facility, Lewis A. Sydnor Sr., chairman of the board of trustees at Burrell, told about 600 persons attending an open house Sunday afternoon, "is not like an ordinary hospital and we've tried to make it as homey as possible."

"We are trying to get away from the medical appearance of a hospital, but are still using traditional medical practices," Dr. Moser told a reporter during a tour of the unit Sunday.

He explained that modern community health workers believe that trust is one of the fastest ways to restore a person with emotional problems and that it's easier to treat a patient in a facility where he isn't locked in.

The inpatient unit, Dr. Moser said, will take "a certain kind of individual who must be able to come and go as he wishes" and want treatment. He added he hoped the facility wouldn't have to handle persons requiring lockup-type treatment at first.

During Sunday's open

house, residents, businessmen, state and local legislators and representatives of social service agencies heard Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, 6th District pledge his support to mental health legislation.

Butler told the crowd that an estimated 70 million people are utilizing services of the National Community Mental Health Program, from

which the Burrell unit received a staffing grant.

He said he hopes Congress will vote to continue the program and said he would attest to its value in the 6th District.

Butler also praised Mental Health Services and Burrell for establishing the unit, saying the best way to treat persons with emotional problems

is on homeground.

Emmett Blackwell of Roanoke, a member of the State Mental Health and Mental Retardation Board, commended the two sponsors for "leading the way throughout the commonwealth in establishing such a facility."

Burrell Memorial, established in 1915, was once an all-black hospital.



Times Photo by Wayne Deel

Dr. Moser (left) Talks With L. A. Sydnor and Rep. Butler

Hospital To Start Mental Health Plan Monday

By ROBERT B. SEARS
Times Staff Writer

A \$400,000 to \$450,000 annual program for the short-term treatment of mental patients from the 5th Planning District will begin Monday at Burrell Memorial Hospital.

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, 6th District congressman; Mayor Roy L. Webber and Emmett Blackwell of Roanoke, a member of the State Mental Health and Mental Retardation Board and members of social service agencies are among those who will attend an open house Sunday from 1 to 4 p.m. at the hospital.

The open house is to acquaint the public with the new facility at Burrell which will be housed on the fourth floor, said Mel H. Lipton, administrator of Burrell, at a press conference Thursday

attended by Burrell officials and officials of Mental Health Services of the Roanoke Valley.

Three units of a five-part program for mental patients will be housed at Burrell: an inpatient unit, which will admit up to 20 patients; an outpatient clinic; and emergency services.

The other two services, not at Burrell, which will be offered to 5th Planning District residents with psychobiological problems, are partial (or day) hospitalization, and consultation and education service.

The purpose of the inpatient unit, said Dr. Jerry Nichols, director of the Community Mental Health Program for Mental Health Services, is to make it unnecessary for people to leave their own com-

munity to receive treatment for mental disease.

"We hope," said Nichols, who is trained as a psychologist, "that they will be able to recover more quickly than if they have to go away from the community."

Dr. Fred Roessel, director of Mental Health Services, said the mental illness facilities at Burrell will provide an alternative to sending patients to Western State Hospital at Staunton, Southwestern State at Marion, or the Lynchburg Training School.

"When you treat people close to home," Nichols said, "and when you involve their family, they have a better chance of recovery."

Dr. Roessel said the treatment to be provided at Burrell will not be "better," but rather "more appropriate."

State hospitals, he said, will be a vital part of the system for treatment of mental illness for many years to come.

L. A. Sydnor Sr., chairman of the board of trustees of Burrell Memorial Hospital, said Burrell is proud to share in the federal grant provided to Mental Health Services making possible the new unit.

The mental illness facilities are on the hospital's fourth floor, a floor that has not been used for several years.

Dr. M. H. Law, a member of the board of Burrell, pointed out at the press conference that Burrell is one of the community's health facilities which is under-utilized, and the new arrangement will help remedy this situation.

Frank H. Mays, executive director of the Roanoke Valley Regional Health Services Planning Council, said the

Burrell mental health unit is a way of improving the scope of services available to the mental patients. He said it is a "major step forward."

Dr. Esther Fagan, chief of Burrell's medical staff, said she was pleased to have a place to refer mental patients to.

The emergency services unit for mental patients will be open on a 24-hour basis beginning about May 1 and after that date persons with need of such services may telephone the hospital.

Nichols said it is anticipated that every mental patient from the 5th Planning District would come to the Burrell mental health facility before going to Western State Hospital at Staunton.

And the Burrell facility, Nichols said, is interested in

having a close relationship with other hospitals, including the new psychiatric hospital being built near Lewis-Gale Hospital.

Dr. Albert W. Moser, Roanoke psychiatrist, said if the mental disease facilities at Roanoke Memorial and the new psychiatric hospital near Lewis-Gale were doubled, there would still be a lack of services for the mentally ill.

Lipton, Burrell's administrator, said the programs for treatment of the mentally ill at Burrell had been upgraded, making them suitable for patients from all socioeconomic groups.

"This is not a welfare program," said Dr. Charles Holland, chairman of Mental Health Services. "It is a community-based program for the entire community."

Charles McDowell

To Get Going In a New Job

WASHINGTON — Linwood Holton gets up at 6:30 a.m. these days and cooks his own breakfast in an efficiency apartment a couple of blocks from his office at the State Department.

"I've gotten pretty good at breakfast," the recent governor of Virginia said Wednesday. "I start frying a slice of bacon over a low flame, and I can take a shower before it's time to turn it. This morning I scrambled two eggs in the bacon grease. Usually I have one egg and an English muffin, but I forgot to take the muffin out of the freezer last night."

Mrs. Holton is at home in Roanoke with three of the children. Holton goes home every weekend. Daughter Tayloe is with friends in Richmond completing her senior year at Kennedy High School. All the Holtons, who left the Governor's Mansion in January, will be moving in the fall to a house they have bought in McLean, one of Northern Virginia's most comfortable suburbs.



McDowell

State Department report on world events during the past 24 hours. That last is marked "Secret". He also reads memoranda on legislation and looks over his own schedule for the day.

WEDNESDAY MORNING he talked with several members of his staff (which numbers about 25) and conferred by telephone with legislative people in the Defense Department, the Office of Management and Budget and the White House. Then there was a meeting with an Undersecretary concerned about some legislation affecting Vietnam. Remember Vietnam?

During a lull in the office routine, Holton got a call from a lady from Roanoke who said she was in the building with a delegation of Colonial Dames, looking at the antiques in the diplomatic reception rooms. Holton went out and found the ladies and said hello.

He had lunch at the Capitol with Sen. Clifford Case, R-N.J., and the "Wednesday Group," who are mostly liberal legislators. Holton hastened to tell a visitor to his office that he eats lunch with all kinds of legislators, when invited. The day before, for example, he had lunch with the Virginia delegation in the House, who are conservative, to say the least.

At 2 p.m. Wednesday, Holton was scheduled to meet with Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, D-Me. — one of a series of private, get-acquainted sessions between the new assistant secretary and the members of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Then, at 4 p.m., Holton would accompany Secretary Henry A. Kissinger to a closed meeting with the whole Foreign Relations Committee. He has been at Kissinger's side in meetings with several congressional committees, and the two of them seem to have an easy relationship.

After such a meeting several weeks ago, they walked out into the corridor and Kissinger was swarmed over by autograph seekers. Holton observed that Kissinger enjoyed it "like a politician." Leaving the Capitol in his limousine, the secretary questioned Holton closely and with fascination about various Republicans who might run for President in 1976.

"I got the idea he didn't think any of them quite filled the bill," Holton said, "and when we got to the State Department, I said, 'Mr. Secretary, you go to your office and practice on your accent, and I'll go back to the Capitol and start working on the constitutional amendment so you can run.'"

BETWEEN APPOINTMENTS WEDNESDAY, Holton was sitting in his office talking about the job he assumed late in February. He looked more trim than he had during the last year or two as governor, and there was a glint in his eye reminiscent of his most enthusiastic days as a campaigner.

"Oh, this is a great job," he said. "You can do something here — something that helps the country, if you please. You know, I'm a politician, out and out, and that's what the State Department needs in this job."

"Another thing about this job is that you really get to know the members of Congress and the leaders. That's an asset in my business, particularly when you're moving from a state to a national context."

"And then, of course, I'm getting my foreign policy lessons from the real matter."

Holton said he expected to stay on this job "no less than two years" — which would bring him up to the spring of 1976 and time to get involved more directly in politics — but "certainly no longer than the end of his administration."

His gaze wandered out the window to Virginia, and he talked about the house he had just bought. Congressman M. Caldwell Butler, a fellow Republican from the 6th District and Holton's former law partner, had found a house in McLean, too.

"Imagine if," Holton said, grinning like a boy. "Old Caldwell living less than a mile down the creek, just like in Roanoke."

Meanwhile, the family's advance man in the nation's capital has his bachelor breakfast of bacon and eggs, V-8 juice, milk and maybe a muffin, and then he washes dishes, shaves, finishes dressing and walks to work.

The sign over the door on the seventh floor of the State Department says: "Governor Holton, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations." It is a very large, unpretentious, worked-in office with windows looking out across the Jefferson Memorial to the Potomac River and Virginia.

Here Holton has a cup of coffee before 8 o'clock and reads The Washington Post, The New York Times and a two-page

Butler receives tape transcripts

W-N
Tues.
Apr 30
1973

By WAYNE WOODLIEFF

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The edited transcripts of the White House Watergate tapes arrived today at Rep. M. Cald-

well Butler's office "in two great big accordion filing sacks."

The Roanoke Republican, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, said the 1,200 pages of transcript, promised by President Nixon in his speech to the nation last night, came to him, and presumably other committee members, at about 11 a.m.

"Needless to say," Butler told a reporter, "I haven't had a chance to read them yet."

Butler also said he wants to see electronic experts inspect the tapes themselves for the committee, and wants further advice from the committee staff before deciding if the President's response represents compliance with the Judiciary Committee's subpoena of the tapes.

"Electronic listening equipment the committee has is a whole lot more sophisticated than the equipment the President has," Butler said. "Our staff tells me our equipment is better in eliminating background noises, isolating commentary by one person, and so on."

Butler said Monday night after President Nixon's speech that he was reserving judgment on the announcement until he conferred with the committee's legal staff.

Butler said he was not inclined to insist that the committee have the White House tape recordings demanded in the committee's subpoena. He said he would be satisfied with transcripts of Watergate-related tapes if the transcripts can be "properly verified."

Nixon To Make Public Transcripts of Tapes

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Nixon announced Monday night he is releasing to Congress and to the nation more than 1,200 pages of White House transcripts that he said "will tell it all" about Watergate and prove his innocence.

Nixon said the edited transcripts cover all relevant portions of tape recordings subpoenaed by the House Judiciary Committee for its inquiry into his possible impeachment.

And he said the senior Democrat and Republican on that panel will be permitted to listen to the tape recordings in full, to verify that what he is releasing is the entire story.

The President said in a nationally broadcast address that for the House committee and for all Americans who read the massive set of documents, the evidence of his innocence will be persuasive — "and I hope conclusive."

The major networks said they gave Nixon free time for the speech because they regarded it as a newsworthy event. Several top Democrats, including National Chairman Robert S. Strauss and Speaker of the House Carl Albert of Oklahoma, questioned the networks' action.

In a 34-minute speech to the nation, Nixon announced what is essentially a compromise, on his terms, with the House committee's demand for tape recordings of 42 White House conversations.

His terms:

—The transcripts, which he said have been edited to eliminate material that has no bearing on possible knowledge of Watergate or the cover-up, will be delivered to the House committee before the subpoena deadline at 10 a.m. EDT Tuesday.



AP Photo

Nixon Points To White House Tape Transcripts

—The White House will make these documents public after they are delivered to the committee.

—Rep. Peter J. Rodino, D-N.J., the committee chairman, and Rep. Edward Hutchinson, R-Mich., the senior GOP member, may listen to the tapes at the

White House to check the accuracy of the transcripts, and to satisfy themselves that no relevant portions have been eliminated from the written record.

Hutchinson said this arrangement seemed to him to be adequate, but Dem-

ocrats on the committee were not immediately willing to go along.

Nixon said that never before "have records that are so private been made so public."

He said they contain "uninhibited discussion ... brutal candor ... confusions and contradictions." He acknowledged that their release will be embarrassing not only to him but to others involved in the conversations.

"In giving you these — blemishes and all — I am placing my trust in the basic fairness of the American people," Nixon said. "I know in my own heart that through the long, painful and difficult process revealed in these transcripts, I was trying to discover what was right and to do what was right."

"I hope and trust that when you have seen the evidence in its entirety, you will see the truth of that statements."

As Nixon spoke from the Oval Office, the two stacks of notebooks containing transcripts were displayed on a table at his side.

It was not immediately clear whether Nixon's terms would satisfy the committee. Rodino had said earlier in the day that the panel would insist its subpoena be met in full — with the tape recordings themselves.

But Hutchinson said after Nixon spoke that he expects the President's plan will be adequate for the impeachment investigation, "if it represents the complete record of Watergate."

Rep. Tom RAILSBACK, R-Ill., a member of the committee, said he thinks the panel will find the offer unsatisfactory.

Nixon said he was supplying some

See Page 9, Col. 1

Butler Says Staff Check of Tapes Vital

By DON HILL

Landmark News Service

WASHINGTON — Virginia's sole member of the House Judiciary Committee said Monday night he thinks the committee chairman and senior Republican "would be fools" to go to the White House to verify tape transcripts without the back-up of committee counsel, staff, and electronic technicians.

Rep. Caldwell Butler, Republican of Roanoke, said he is reserving judgment on whether a compromise proposed by President Nixon on nationwide television would satisfy requirements set out in a Judiciary Committee subpoena.

"I will wait and see what the staff says, if this answers their questions," Butler said. "We issued the subpoena on

the staff's advice and I want to know whether they feel their questions are answered. That's what we are paying those people for."

Butler said he would be "perfectly content" to have the transcripts "properly verified" by Judiciary Committee Chairman Peter Rodino, D-N.J., and ranking Republican, Edward Hutchinson, Mich., if they agreed to tackle the job.

But, Butler said he knew that the committee's chief counsel and minority counsel were explicitly uninvited to sit in on reviewing the tapes.

The Virginia congressman said, "If I were Rodino and Hutchinson, I wouldn't go without our people."

Butler with the rest of the Virginia delegation spent the first part of Monday evening at a dinner in Alexandria staged by the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce. Butler left the dinner shortly after President Nixon's speech began and listened to the president on the car radio en route to the Capitol to be interviewed for his reaction by national television and Virginia newspaper correspondents. He had no opportunity to confer with other Virginia legislators or with leaders of his party.

While waiting to be interviewed, however, he heard Robert McClory of Illinois, the senior Republican, say he was "impressed and pleased" with the

President's address. He heard Rep. William Cohen, R-Maine, speak on a need for electronic checking of the White House tapes and for the presence of committee counsel during verification. He heard Robert Drinan, Democratic representative from Massachusetts, denounce the President's offer as a "whole new diversionary tactic."

Butler said he does not feel with Rep. Cohen that it would be necessary for all committee members to listen to parts of the White House tapes to hear how the President spoke as well as what he said. "I don't think I can impeach the President on an inflection in his voice," Butler said.

Butler

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler advised key Republican leaders Monday he wanted another term in Washington, while another Democrat showed an interest in opposing him in the 6th District.

While GOP leaders were getting a confidential letter from the congressman, Paul J. Puckett, Roanoke County sheriff, scheduled a press conference for 3 p.m. today at the Hotel Roanoke—presumably to announce his candidacy for the Democratic nomination to oppose Butler.

Both party's conventions will be held June 8, Saturday before the election for nominating candidates for Congress.

Butler scheduled a conference for 9 a.m. today in his district office at the Federal Building in Roanoke to "make his case."

Editorial View

Friday, May 3, 1974

World News

From inadmissible to admissible

Something happened to the President's carefully drawn plan to appeal to the American people on the transcripts of Watergate conversations. The plan was masterful: Give the impression of handing over a mass of documents, but at the same time continue to limit, to pick and choose, to control to a large extent what materials the House Judiciary Committee sees.

The plan may still work, but the committee's decision to find the President in non-compliance with the subpoena requesting the original tapes is a major setback.

The committee, on a narrow, partisan vote, chose the milder route rather than cite the President for contempt. But it is a shame that the Republican members of the Committee are joining hands again after a period during which they seemed to be taking each of the complicated issues on its individual merits.

Rep. Caldwell Butler's progression from discontent to calling the committee's letter "premature" puzzles us. His immediate reaction after the President's address to the nation Monday night was that the two top committee members would be "fools" to attempt to verify the transcripts without staff aid.

Rep. Butler pointed up the main in-

consistency in the President's argument: He was asking to use his legal staff in arguing the case before the committee, but the committee was being asked to go without its trained investigators. The request was lopsided.

But Rep. Butler stayed short of actually saying the President's offer failed to comply with the subpoena. He said that he wished to reserve judgment. His judgment came in an unprecedented committee session late Wednesday; and, despite general agreement among the legal experts on the committee that the President was not in compliance with the subpoena, Rep. Butler voted to go along with the rest of the Republicans and say, in effect, we don't particularly like what the President has offered us, but we are going along with it.

The committee came darn close to allowing the President to get away with the latest in a series of transparent attempts to manipulate what the committee sees and doesn't see.

Committee Chairman Peter Rodino summed up neatly: "We did not subpoena an edited White House version of partial transcripts of presidential conversations. We did not subpoena presidential interpretation of what is necessary or relevant for our inquiry. And we did not subpoena a lawyer's argument presented before we had heard any of the evidence." Amen.

R-T- Fri. May 3rd

Rep. Butler Calls Letter 'Premature'

By WAYNE WOODLIEF
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke said the House Judiciary Committee's decision to send President Nixon a letter of "noncompliance" with the committee's Watergate tapes subpoena was "a premature and hasty action."

Butler joined 15 other Republicans on the Judiciary Committee on the losing side of a 20-18 committee vote Wednesday night to formally notify Nixon that his furnishing the committee with edited transcripts, instead of tapes, "failed to comply" with the subpoena.

After the session ended, near midnight, Butler told a reporter, "it was a close question for me. I was tempted to vote for the motion. I agree that the President isn't in compliance with the subpoena."

"But I don't think we should be writing letters until we have had an opportunity to review the material submitted and have determined that our investigation has been hampered by the withholding of the tapes in the President's possession."

Butler noted that he had received assurances from the committee's chief counsel, John Doar, that the White House refusal to send tapes won't delay the committee staff's scheduled presentation of impeachment evidence to the committee next week.

Butler said he also was concerned that a formal letter could be used as a basis for a congressional contempt citation against Nixon, a step Butler doesn't favor. He voted with the majority in a 32-5 committee decision against recommending a contempt citation now.

The Roanoke Republican does favor legal aides and technical experts joining the ranking committee members in verifying the accuracy of the transcripts by listening to White House tapes. Nixon, in his address on the tapes Monday night, appeared to be excluding staff participation.

Butler sided with seven Republicans and three Democrats in voting for a "more conciliatory" letter to Nixon, advising that the committee feels the President isn't in compliance, but that he could take steps toward compliance by allowing verification by the staff and electronic experts.

The amendment to send that letter failed, 27-11.

Butler, Hogan Split on Tapes

By Stephen Green
Washington Post Staff Writer

Maryland and Virginia's representatives on the House Judiciary Committee were split Wednesday over whether President Nixon had complied with a subpoena for 42 Watergate-related White House tapes to aid the committee's impeachment investigation.

"Personally, I don't think the President has complied" by sending the committee edited transcripts of the tapes, said Rep. M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.), who represents the Roanoke area.

However, Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan (R-Md.), who represents Prince George's County, said the releasing of the edited transcripts had placed Mr. Nixon in "substantial compliance."

Despite their differing opinions, both Hogan and Butler unsuccessfully opposed a committee decision to formally state that Mr. Nixon failed to comply with the subpoena.

Butler explained that he opposed the committee's action because "I think it's premature. It's premature because we ought to examine first what the President has sent. We ought to see what the Committee staff thinks it needs in tapes after examining the transcripts and then ask the President to provide those tapes," Butler said.

"Then, I don't think the President would want to be put in the position of obstructing the committee," Butler added.

He explained that he doesn't think Mr. Nixon complied with the subpoena because "the Committee asked for the tapes and didn't get them."

Hogan said the committee's action "was a way to save face for those persons who wanted to cite him (Mr. Nixon) for contempt."

"The action was a little meaningless gesture. I think the President is in substantial compliance," Hogan stated.

In sending the transcripts to the Committee, Mr. Nixon offered to let Committee Chairman Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) and ranking Republican Edward Hutchinson of Michigan listen to the tapes to verify the accuracy of the transcripts.

Hogan urged the Committee to negotiate with the White House so that the Committee's chief counsel, John M. Doar, and the Committee's GOP counsel, Al-

bert Jenner, could listen to the tapes also.

Hogan said, however, that the White House may refuse to let Jenner listen to the tapes because he "is so obviously biased against the President." Other Republicans also have criticized Jenner, even though he was hired to represent the Committee's GOP members in the impeachment investigation.

6th District

Butler Reported in Race

LYNCHBURG (AP)—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., has informed campaign workers and officials of his decision to run for re-election, Lynchburg television station WLVA said Monday night.

The station said the confirmation of his political plans came in a letter in which Butler sought to put down rumors he would not seek a second term in the 6th District.

The station said it received a copy of the letter, in which Butler underscored the word "do" in announcing he did, in fact, intend to make the race.

"I want you to know this before the formal announcement of

my candidacy," Butler said in the letter.

He also disclosed that he may have to rely on many of his friends to carry much of the campaign load because "we can reasonably anticipate, however, that I will have a busy summer and fall in Washington."

Sent March 1, 1974

Wiland & Associates Inc.

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CONGRESSMEN BUTLER POLL COUNTS

20,917

Question	Yes		Response		No Opinion	
			No			
1a	13,171	62.9	6,410	30.6	1,336	6.4
1b	3,010	14.39	16,784	80.24	1,123	5.36
2a	12,107	57.88	8,016	38.32	793	3.79
2b	7,837	37.46	11,947	57.11	1,132	5.4
3	11,890	56.84	7,401	35.38	1,625	7.76
4a	5,920	28.3	13,085	62.5	1,911	9.13
4b	8,409	40.2	10,001	46.8	2,506	12.0
4c	15,423	7.73	3,955	18.9	1,537	7.34
5	6,666	-Alternative A		31.86		
	4,866	-Alternative B		23.26		
	7,036	- Alternative C		33.63		
	2,348	-No Opinion		11.22		
6a	6,380	30.5	12,029	57.5	2,507	11.98
6b	3,578	17.1	15,265	72.97	2,073	9.9
6c	17,906	85.6	1,937	9.26	1,073	5.12
7a	9,147	43.72	7,877	37.65	3,892	18.60
7b	12,133	58.0	5,678	27.14	3,105	14.84

Sent March 1, 1974

The United States Constitution provides that the President of the United States may be impeached and removed from office "for treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors."

- a. In your opinion, should the President of the United States be impeached and removed from office in accord with the above? ☐ 1. (a.) YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION
- b. In your opinion, should a President of the United States be impeached and removed from office for the misconduct of his subordinates even if it were established that the President had no personal knowledge of their misconduct and had not consented to it? ☐ 1. (b.) YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION
2. At the request of the President and relying on representations of experts as to substantial energy savings to be expected therefrom, the Congress in December 1973 extended daylight savings time to the Winter months.
- a. Assuming that experience will show a substantial saving in energy as a result of this change in daylight savings time, do you favor a continuation of daylight savings time for the winter months of 1974-75? ☐ 2. (a.) YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION
- b. Irrespective of the energy savings from the extension of daylight savings time to the Winter months, do you favor daylight savings time for all twelve months of each year? ☐ 2. (b.) YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION
3. Do you favor legislation permitting removal of automobile pollution control devices during the current gasoline shortage? ☐ 3. YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION
4. Unless extended by Congress, the Economic Stabilization Act which authorizes the President of the United States to impose wage and price controls will expire on April 30, 1974. Substantially all wage and price controls which have been in effect will expire at that time.
- a. In your opinion, have wage and price controls been helpful in combating inflation? ☐ 4. (a.) YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION
- b. Most controls will have been removed prior to their expiration date on April 30, 1974. Should Congress extend the power of the President to impose wage and price controls beyond that date? ☐ 4. (b.) YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION
- c. The President has announced that he will not ask that his power to impose wage and price controls be extended except in two cases; petroleum and health. Do you believe that price controls on the cost of medical and hospital care should be retained? ☐ 4. (c.) YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION
5. The Supreme Court of the United States ruled in 1973 that existing state laws restricting the practice of abortion were unconstitutional. The ruling allows the states to impose restrictions on the medical conditions under which abortions may be performed during the last six months of pregnancy. There has been a great deal of controversy over this decision, and the Congress is now faced with three alternatives:
- Alternative A: It may refuse to approve any Constitutional amendment. This would have the effect of leaving the Supreme Court decision unchanged. ☐ Alternative A
- Alternative B: It may approve a Constitutional amendment which would place all regulation of abortions under state jurisdiction. Previous to the Supreme Court decision, the states exercised such jurisdiction. ☐ Alternative B
- Alternative C: It may approve a Constitutional amendment which would prohibit abortion except in rare circumstances. (This is often called the "Right to Life" Amendment.) ☐ Alternative C
- ☐ No Opinion
6. There have been a number of proposals before the Congress designed to improve the way we elect people to public office.
- a. Public Financing: Under this proposal the federal government would pay all or part of the cost of campaigning. Proponents say it is necessary to prevent corruption. Opponents say that it is a raid on the Treasury and unnecessary. Do you favor public financing of election campaigns? ☐ 6. (a.) YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION
- b. Postal Card Registration: Under this proposal, eligible persons may register to vote by mailing a postcard to the Registrar with the required information. Proponents say it will help in registering many people who might not otherwise be able to register. Those opposed say the system can easily be converted for fraudulent purposes. Do you favor postal card registration? ☐ 6. (b.) YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION
- c. Spending Limitations: Under these proposals varying limitations are placed on the amount of money that could be spent in an election campaign. Proponents say it will offset the influence of contributions by affluent special interest groups. Opponents say it would be unfair and unconstitutional to place such limitations upon those desiring to contribute. Do you favor placing a limit on the amount of money that can be spent in an election? ☐ 6. (c.) YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION
7. An important question before Congress is the expansion of trade with the Soviet Union, promoted by mutual preferential trade and credit arrangements. Some urge that such a policy should be predicated upon the Soviet Union's willingness to liberalize its policies, particularly with respect to the freedom of emigration.
- a. Do you believe we should increase our trade with the USSR? ☐ 7. (a.) YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION
- b. Do you believe we should insist on changes in Soviet policies before increasing our trade with them? ☐ 7. (b.) YES ☐ NO ☐ NO OPINION

Sat May 4, 1974 R-T.

Butler Seeks Term, Accepts Watergate

By BEN BEAGLE
Times Staff Writer

Republican Rep. M. Caldwell Butler formally announced Friday he will seek a new term in the 6th District's seat in Congress and admitted it will be "fair game" for his opponent, or opponents, to use Watergate frequently and hard.

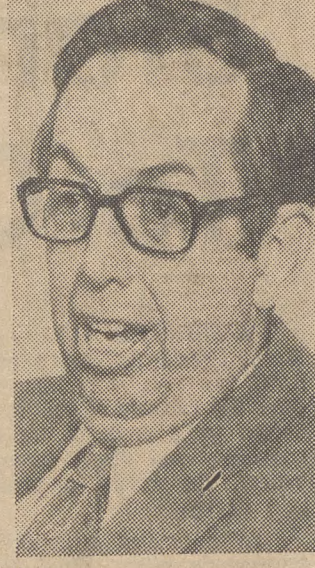
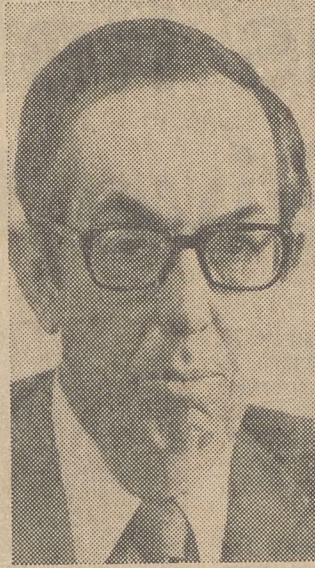
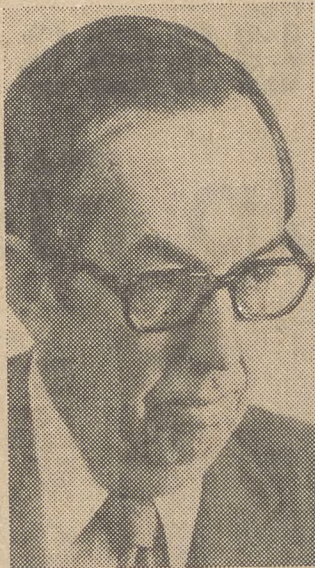
"It will be fair game to suggest that this happened in the Republican party and I'm a member of the Republican party" and must share some of the blame, Butler said in an interview.

And Butler said he doesn't believe the House Judiciary Committee, now studying a bill of impeachment against President Nixon, will be through with its work until July 4.

The Roanoke congressman said he regrets this because he would like to have had a vote on impeachment before the June 8 district convention at which he is expected to be nominated.

With such a vote, Butler said, the party in convention could have expressed itself on his performance—perhaps by running another candidate for the nomination.

Butler had scheduled a morning news conference Friday to announce he is again a candidate but he said duties with the judiciary committee prevented him from



Rep. Caldwell Butler During Interview

getting to town until late in the day.

Butler drove down from Washington and was interviewed in his Roanoke office.

As for the way Watergate will get into the campaign, Butler said, "I think you judge an incumbent on the way he has reacted to the problems that have come before him."

Butler said that when he ran successfully against Democrat Willis M. Anderson in 1972 Watergate was "pretty limited."

He added that he said at that time "I didn't condone it or excuse it" and that he still

feels the same way. There is a responsibility for Congress to "ferret out the facts," he said, and it is up to the Republican party "to do what we can to clean it up."

"I feel very strongly that the (campaign) money is the root of it all," Butler said.

Butler said "I went out of my way to solicit and obtain" a position on a committee studying campaign reform. Butler said he wants "to limit expenditures and limit contributions and make disclosure requirements more meaningful."

Butler said he supposes anybody running against him

in the fall will use Watergate heavily.

But, he said, "the challenger has to say what he would have done that I didn't do."

So far, Butler's potential opponents include Tom Nolan, a social worker, and Roanoke City Sheriff Paul Puckett, who have both announced they will seek the Democratic nomination at a convention being held the same day the district Republicans meet.

The American party has said it will have a candidate, but none has been named yet.

GOP Women Standing Firm With Nixon at Convention

By MELVILLE CARRICO
Times Political Writer

RICHMOND — Mrs. Robert A. Garland of Roanoke, a strong supporter of President Nixon, Friday was re-elected president of the Virginia Federation of Republican Women's Clubs. She was unopposed.

The 250 women registered for the organization's spring meeting seemed to be supporting the President in the wake of his release of the Watergate tapes which critics claim is going to hurt Republicans in this year's congressional elections.

But the Virginia women do not appear to think so.

Mrs. Garland, in her president's message to the Republican women, said, "In the White House we have President Nixon who has earned and deserves our support."

And Mrs. Mamie Vest of Roanoke, elected corresponding secretary, said the resolution committee of which she is chairman will offer the conference a strongly worded resolution supporting President Nixon at a business session Saturday morning.

The women applauded loudly Friday night when Lt. Gov. John N. Dalton predicted Virginia's seven Republican congressmen will be re-elected despite Watergate.

Dalton said the Republican party in Virginia is built on a philosophy to the right of the political center and Virginians will judge the congressmen on what they have done in Washington— "not on something over which they had no control."

Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr., a former Democrat who won another term last year as

head of the GOP ticket, will address a conference luncheon Saturday.

Surprisingly, the focal point in the convention is a fight over the office of second vice president between Mrs. Doriene Steeves, Alexandria, and Mrs. Rosemary Foreman, Springfield.

Party leaders say the battle has divided the GOP in the thickly populated Northern Virginia area and seems to come across the ideological lines that often divide the party. Both women have hospitality suites at the Holiday Inn where the conference is being held and are waging campaigns as intense as normally come when a state chairmanship or other high office is at stake.

There is a satellite cam-

paign for treasurer between Maj. Helen King, a retired Army nurse who now lives in Williamsburg and Mrs. Ellie Majer of Annandale. But it is overshadowed by the campaign for second vice president.

The women visited the state Capitol and went to the Governor's Mansion for a tea. But the Godwins were in Winchester for the crowning of the Apple Blossom Festival Queen. However, they will be at the conference luncheon Saturday.

Besides Mrs. Garland, other officers re-elected Friday without opposition were Mrs. Henry Lampe of Arlington, vice president, and Mrs. Robert Witham, Richmond, recording secretary.

Improve Procedures: Butler to Clerks

Virginian-Pilot, B9
Sunday, May 12, 1974



Butler

NORFOLK—Republican Representative M. Caldwell Butler of the 6th Congressional District Saturday warned the International Institute of Municipal Clerks to "keep your eyes on Washington" during this legislative session.

Despite the fact that he is a member of the House Judiciary Committee which began its investigation into, possible impeachment of President Nixon Thursday, Butler's warning was in relation to several pieces of legislation that are of interest to the 2,200-member organization.

Butler, who has declined to comment on the White House Watergate transcripts since he will be receiving impeachment evidence, told the clerks to "simplify, clarify, and improve your registration procedures; control campaign spending; and shorten your campaigns."

Failure to do so, Butler warned, will bring about federal legislation that will add another layer of bureaucracy for municipal clerks to wade through.

A loud round of applause went up when Butler informed the clerks that the House Wednesday voted down the rule on the post-

card registration bill, 204 to 197.

Butler said this meant that the majority of congressmen felt that the bill was "so bad that the House should not even take time to consider it."

The bill would have established a voter registration administration in the federal government. The version that has passed the Senate would place it in the Census Bureau, the House version in the General Accounting Office.

Under the bill, the Voter Registration Administration would be charged with preparing postcard-

sized forms which would contain the information necessary for a person to register in each state.

In order to register for a federal election an individual would fill out the card, mail it back to the registrar, and receive a card back indicating that he has registered.

The IIMC opposes the legislation on the basis that it would create a duplication of effort. Registrars would need separate books for federal and in-state elections.

The estimated cost for imple-

menting such a system, about \$50 million, could be used more effectively, according to the clerks.

Butler said the system would invite fraud and would not improve the percentages of people voting simply because they were registered.

Despite the fact that the proposed legislation was defeated on a technicality, Butler said that "due to the parliamentary situation it could be brought up again."

Butler said that he is philosophically opposed to public financing of elections because "I feel that contributions are the ultimate expression of one's interest in the political process."

"I also believe we certainly have better things to spend our tax dollars on than political campaigns," he said.

He added that once financing of federal elections was established "the climate would be right for state financing of state campaigns and local financing of local campaigns."

The answer, he said, is in controlling the amount of money allowed to be spent and shortening the length of the campaign.

Wed May 8, 1974
The World-News, Roanoke, Va., Wed

County man enters race for Congress

A third candidate has entered the race for the Democratic nomination for Congress in the 6th District.

He is James A. Hooven, 33, of Roanoke County, who worked for Henry Howell when he ran for governor in 1973. Hooven is a former president of the Roanoke County Young Democrats.

He joins Tom Nolan and Roanoke City Sheriff Paul Puckett in seeking the nomination.

District Democrats will nominate their candidate June 8. Republicans are scheduled to nominate Rep. Caldwell Butler the same day.

In announcing, Hooven said "Watergate is one of the most important issues of this campaign."

He added, however, that there are other important ones and he hopes Butler will be willing to talk about them. "Perhaps Watergate is less embarrassing to Republicans than their record on inflation, taxes, crime, welfare and the energy crisis," said Hooven.

"I plan to wage a campaign on these issues. I believe that it is of great importance to realize that these problems can only be solved by realistic, sound, rational and sensible judgement and a deep commitment to American tradition and ideals."

While Hooven announced, there was still speculation that either Del. Don Pendleton of Amherst or former Del. Willis Anderson—both—might get in the race.

Neither was available for comment today.

Hooven, who teaches at Virginia Western Community College and the University of Virginia Extension in Roanoke, lives with his wife and four children at 4053 Runnymede Lane, SW.

Hooven was educated at the University of Virginia. He has been active in politics since 1968 and in addition to being 6th District campaign coordinator for the Howell campaign has worked in both state and national elections.

May 6, 1974 - Time Magazine

WATERGATE

The President Prepares His Answer



Butler

This week loomed among the most fateful yet in Richard Nixon's year-long struggle to salvage his presidency and stave off impeachment. He had until Tuesday to reply to the House Judiciary Committee's subpoena of 42 tapes relating to his role in Watergate, a deadline oft-deferred but now inescapable. In preparation, as he had done in past crises, he retreated to the quiet of Camp David to work out his response on his long yellow legal pads. The best indications were that it would be an attempt, aimed at the American people, to justify a less than full reply to the committee. In a White Paper and likely an evening television address to the nation, he was expected to explain that although he was not turning over the tapes demanded, he was delivering edited transcripts of the relevant conversations on the tapes on such a scale as to prove his innocence and make further demands unnecessary.

One Last Request. To the very end, the President sought to postpone the day of reckoning. For more than a month after the committee asked for the tapes on Feb. 25, White House aides portrayed the request as unduly broad, a fishing expedition that called for enough material to fill a U-Haul trailer. Not until several days before the committee's formal subpoena of the recordings on April 11 did Nixon order aides to locate and transcribe the tapes. Last week, at Presidential Counsel James St. Clair's request, the committee extended its deadline by five days. "Having gone the last mile [with Nixon]," Chairman Peter Rodino explained, "we want to accommodate him with this one last request."

Deputy Presidential Press Secretary Gerald L. Warren said that Nixon needed the extension because he had been too busy with the press of other business—particularly economic and foreign affairs—to prepare his response to the committee. Privately, however, aides suggested that Nixon actually wanted more time to search for a way to satisfy the committee without turning over the subpoenaed tapes.

His problems were compounded by the necessity of figuring out how to respond to a second subpoena, which came two weeks ago from Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski. It demanded 64 tapes of presidential conversations with aides from June 1972 through June 1973 that dealt primarily with the Watergate cover-up; included were 24 tapes asked for by the Judiciary Committee. Federal Judge John J. Sirica ordered that the White House answer the subpoena by this Thursday. Presidential aides thought it unlikely that the deadline could be met. But it was possible that Nixon was seeking a way to dispose of both subpoenas at once, in another grand effort to get free and clear of Watergate once and for all.

As Nixon considered the alternatives, there were signs of growing tension in the White House. He held frequent marathon meetings with his closest advisers on Watergate. On four occasions, he escaped from the pressures by cruising on the Potomac River aboard the presidential yacht *Sequoia*. Such cruises in the past have signaled presidential anxiety, and his inner turmoil was shared by his top aides. They seemed confused and uneasy, fearful that no satisfactory way could be found to avoid a confrontation with Congress and anxious about the effect of such a showdown on the U.S. public.

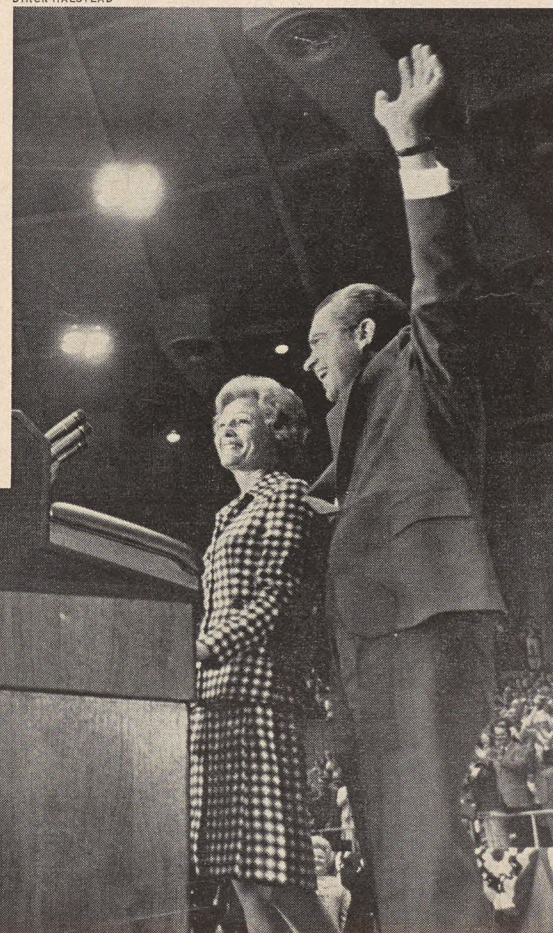
To help prepare Nixon's response, White House Counsel J. Fred Buzhardt spent four weeks locating the tapes in question on six-hour reels stored in the Executive Office Building, isolating segments that corresponded to the subpoenaed conversations and transcribing them by hand. The tapes were reportedly sometimes almost inaudible, requiring hours of tedious replaying to decipher the conversations and identities of the speakers. Said one associate: "Fred's ears have fallen beneath his collar at this point." After studying each of the transcripts and consulting with St. Clair, Buzhardt turned them over to Nixon. Aides assumed that the President, in reviewing the transcripts, was insisting

that non-Watergate matters be excised, as well as his frequent obscenities, in preparing texts to be handed over to the Judiciary Committee.

The committee seemed unlikely to be appeased by such partial compliance with the subpoena. Nearly all of its members, including most of the Republicans, have repeatedly insisted that Nixon turn over the tapes entire. In a clear warning last week to the President, House Minority Leader John Rhodes of Arizona said: "The committee will have to be convinced that all of the relevant material is made available." He has suggested that the committee might agree to a compromise that would permit Rodino, Ranking Republican Edward Hutchinson of Michigan, Chief Counsel John Doar and Minority Counsel Albert Jenner to listen to the tapes and excise the irrelevant portions. Nixon gave no hint that he might accept such a verification process, but it could not be ruled out.

White Paper. What was certain was that Nixon was orchestrating a major campaign to win public support for a limited response to the subpoena, apparently in hopes of forcing the committee to accept it. An aide said that the blitz probably would include a prime-time television speech. In addition, White House Speechwriter Jay Price worked all week on a White Pa-

DIRCK HALSTEAD



THE PRESIDENT & HIS WIFE ACKNOWLEDGE APPLAUSE IN MISSISSIPPI





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THE NATION

per to explain Nixon's reasons for not turning the tapes over to the committee. Senior presidential aides—among them Dean Burch and St. Clair—were offered to television networks for interviews this week.

Nixon also planned to keep taking his case directly to the people. Last week he flew to Jackson, Miss., and was enthusiastically cheered and applauded by some 10,000 members and guests of the Mississippi Economic Council when he predicted better days ahead for the nation (see THE PRESIDENCY). Nixon was scheduled to address a group of Republicans in Phoenix, Ariz., this Friday and attend the opening of the 1974 World's Fair in Spokane, Wash., on Saturday. In counterpoint last week a largely youthful crowd of 7,500 people, many bused in from other cities, marched peacefully down the capital's Constitution Avenue demanding Nixon's impeachment.

More Tapes. The Judiciary Committee continued to prepare for the hearings on impeachment, which it would like to begin May 7. Chairman Rodino acknowledged that the committee has asked for—but not yet subpoenaed—some 79 additional tapes and other documents from the White House bearing on the Watergate cover-up, the Administration's 1971 decision to increase milk price supports and its antitrust settlement with ITT Corp. that year.

The committee lawyers also sharpened the focus of their investigation of the grounds for Nixon's possible impeachment. Counsel John Doar told the committee that his staff could find no substance to 15 of the 56 allegations made against Nixon when the impeachment inquiry began last winter. He eliminated from further study Nixon's refusal to spend certain funds appropriated by Congress, his efforts to dismantle the Office of Economic Opportunity and 13 charges of using Government agencies to harass Administration enemies and reward campaign contributors.

Doar said that his staff would concentrate on the 41 remaining allegations. They include Nixon's possible involvement in the Watergate cover-up, his connections with the White House undercover team known as the plumbers and with the dirty-tricks operations of his 1972 re-election campaign committee and charges that he and his staff promised favors in return for campaign contributions from ITT Corp., the milk producers, Fugitive Financier Robert L. Vesco and Billionaire Recluse Howard Hughes. Doar also said that his staff would "investigate whether or not there was criminal fraud for which the President is responsible" in his tax returns for 1969 through 1972. Declared Representative M. Caldwell Butler, a Republican member of the committee from Virginia, in a metaphor of dubious reassurance to the White House as it entered upon the crucial week: "The staff has put down its shotgun and picked up a rifle."



NIXON SHAKING FLURRY OF EXTENDED HANDS IN WELCOMING CROWD

THE PRESIDENCY/HUGH SIDNEY

A Visit to Good-Ole-Boys Country

The South uses Richard Nixon, and Nixon uses the South. It is that kind of deal.

"In order to have a friend you have to be a friend," said Mississippi Governor William Waller, standing by the tarmac at Jackson last week waiting for the President. That makes it sound a little warmer than it may be. There is a lot of handshaking on an outing like the one to Jackson, and a lot of red, white and blue bunting. Patriotism flows rich and deep in the oratory. But it all holds together because of the politics. Not only money is involved—ample federal disaster funds for Mississippi, for example—but also support on busing and law-and-order. Part of it, too, is using the presidential spectacle to please the crowds.

"Is it always like this?" asked one awed National Guard captain, watching the 20-car motorcade line up at the airport and the 65 newsmen rush to position.

The occasion was the 25th annual meeting of the Mississippi Economic Council, which is the state chamber of commerce. The coliseum floor was filled with the members. Scores of school buses had brought kids to be part of the audience and to swarm around outside. To see and hear a real live President is something special, and for these people it was a treat. The bands tootled *Hail to the Chief*, and those beautiful Southern girls in ranks, like the Hinds Junior College Hi-Steppers, turned on several thousand kilowatts in smiles.

There was even the delicious shiver from the presence of a villain—CBS's Dan Rather, of press-conference-confrontation fame. When the word got around, one huge man could not believe the devil would come right down in their midst. He walked up to the White House's Transportation aide Bob Manning. "You all left Dan Rather back in Washington, didn't you?" he asked. "No," said Manning. "He's here." A look of puzzlement came over the fellow's face. "Gawd Almighty," he said, lifting his hands to the heavens to express his amazement.

The people of Mississippi were not all that interested in the substance of Nixon's speech. As Nixon recited his triumphs in office, the audience studied the press contingent and eyed the girls. But they caught flag lines. The cheers came back and bathed the President in approval.

Big Jim Eastland, the Senator, slumped in his chair, coat open, hand to his mouth. Just then he was as big as the President, and he knew it. Senator John Stennis and the three Mississippi Congressmen sat erect, arms poised for applause.

The graciousness of the South was real. Religion and patriotism run strong. Families and communities have not been strained so much as in other parts of the nation. Respect for authority is more evident. The people seem intensely preoccupied with the quality of their special life, with building up their economic base now to match other states. The other world is far away.

Governor Waller's family was given a tour of Air Force One. "I couldn't miss this," said Bill, 22, who had whizzed down from Mississippi State University, then rushed back for a final exam that afternoon. Senator Stennis, in his kindly manner, pushed talk of impeachment out of the way so as not to mar the sunny day. "I wouldn't say anything. I'm one of the jurors."

Yet, for all the surface success of this foray into Dixie, there was a bothersome note beneath. The trip was almost too fast. There was not that much of a spontaneous outpouring by the people of Jackson. There were some placards of dissent around the coliseum (HAIL TO THE THIEF... A \$476,000 ERROR?... YOU CAN'T HIDE HERE). And Governor Waller, despite his plea for people to get behind the President and get the country moving, would not suggest Nixon was innocent of the Watergate accusations. "Always errors are made by people trying to do something... We live by and believe in a forgiving spirit," he said. Air Force One lifted off the runway, and the Governor took off his coat to cool down. There lingered the faint feeling that Richard Nixon's troubles are taking a toll even among the true believers of Jackson.

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12, 1974

White House stance disappoints Butler

By WAYNE WOODLIEF
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke today said he is "disappointed the White House is taking a hard line" against releasing more Watergate tapes to the House Judiciary Committee.

The refusal, Butler said, "is hampering our pursuit of the truth and the facts," and poses the risk for President Nixon of a presumption "by the Congress and the public" that revelation of the tapes would further damage Nixon.

Presidential lawyer James St. Clair told reporters yesterday that Nixon will refuse to yield additional tapes requested both by the Judiciary Committee and the special Watergate prosecutor, even if the committee on which Butler serves, subpoenas them.

Butler, interviewed today, said, "We're going to come soon to where we must have the tapes to do our job."

He said his assessment is based on committee staff reports, the hundreds of so-

called "unintelligible" deletions in already released White House transcripts of earlier tapes and reports of new gaps in the tapes.

He said he doubts a new subpoena would be of "major significance" since the White House, by releasing transcripts instead of tapes themselves, failed to comply with

the first subpoena. Butler noted that committee members have agreed they have no practical means of enforcing the subpoena.

The Roanoke Republican said a "formal declaration" by the committee that it must have the tapes may prove more effective than a new subpoena.

R-T - Wed May 8 '74

Butler Assails Effort To Remove Counsel

By JACK BETTS
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., a member of the House Judiciary Committee, said Tuesday he had "no part" of an unsuccessful effort by a Republican to oust impeachment inquiry minority counsel Albert Jenner.

In fact, Butler said "I think it would be inappropriate to undertake to remove him at this time, regardless of your viewpoint."

And he declined to comment on the contents of 1,254 pages of transcripts of presidential conversations released a week ago.

Jenner came under the fire of Rep. Lawrence Hogan, R-Md., for being "derelict" in serving the Republican interests during impeachment proceedings and for violating "the rules of the committee as well as (GOP) instructions regarding public statements."

Hogan's demand for Jenner's dismissal fell on deaf ears Monday, however. The committee's ranking Republican, Rep. Edward Hutchinson of Michigan, labeled such a move "foolhardy" because the staff is on the verge of

presenting evidence to the full committee.

Several of Hogan's colleagues privately have voiced dissatisfaction with Jenner's performance on the committee, but Butler has avoided public statements criticizing him or any other judiciary member of staffer.

"I think the real substance of the Hogan criticism of Mr. Jenner is not his extracurricular commentary, which was regrettable, but his objective approach as opposed to a partisan approach to the job," Butler said in an interview.

However, Butler said, "In view of the apparently professional and objective approach of John Doar, I'm not sure that Albert Jenner could have performed any differently before the committee."

The Roanoke Republican, who says the committee should move in a bipartisan manner on the inquiry, said he regretted the publicity stemming from the Hogan demand, adding, "it was an internal matter that Republicans ought to have hashed out themselves. It would have been far more appropriate for Mr. Jenner and Mr. Hogan to have thrashed out this particular criticism in a meeting of the Republicans on the committee."

Butler said one reason it would be inappropriate for the committee to dismiss Jenner was that Jenner is "familiar with the evidence

and he's going to help with the presentations of it.

"We've got other members that are familiar with the facts we can go to if we need to. Yes, that includes Garrison (former Roanoke Commonwealth's Atty. Sam Garrison, a deputy counsel to the committee) as well as about 30 other Republicans. I don't think we're in any danger of being misled."

He also said he had read various parts of the presidential conversations, as well as a number of interpretations of the transcripts, but said he believed he should not comment on them.

"I really do think it would be misleading," Butler said. "It's just part of the information I'm going to grind into the Butler computer before making a judgment on the issue."

Asked to elaborate, Butler responded, "Well, I think I'd just better leave it at that."

Meanwhile, Butler was joined by several other Republicans in opposing Jenner's ouster.

Rep. Hamilton Fish, R-N.Y., said the issue is simple. "What are we looking for, a Republican position or a professional position? I say we need a professional position."

And Rep. Robert McClory, R-Ill., said, "I have yet to have anybody prove that he is against Republican interests, administration interests, (or) the President's interests."

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the first subpoena. Butler noted that committee members have agreed they have no practical means of enforcing the subpoena.

The Roanoke Republican said a "formal declaration" by the committee that it must have the tapes may prove more effective than a new subpoena.

"We have to tell Mr. St. Clair that refusal to supply the tapes is hampering our pursuit of the truth and the facts," Butler said, "and that if the White House fails to respond, it runs the risk of having the Congress and the public presume that whatever the tapes may show is adverse to the President."

Butler and St. Clair will appear on a national Public Broadcasting Service special on the Judiciary Committee's impeachment process tonight.

The program is scheduled on Roanoke's WBRA-TV at 8 p.m. and also will include interviews with Judiciary Committee Chairman Peter Rodino, D-N.J., and Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman, D-N.Y., another committee member.

"The strategy of the White House escapes me," Butler

said today. "I regret the White House is taking a hard

line. I resisted the committee writing a hard-line letter asserting presidential non-compliance with the earlier subpoena, even though I feel he didn't comply."

Sam

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Transcripts Disturb Va. Congressmen

R-T- Thurs, May 9, 1974

By WAYNE WOODLIFF
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Several Congressmen disturbed by Oval Office talk of blackmail money and the earthy language of the White House Watergate transcripts, say President Nixon damaged himself by making the edited conversations public.

Privately, some of the Virginians say impeachment by the House and a Nixon trial in the Senate now seems inevitable.

None of them are committing themselves on how they would cast an im-

peachment vote. But since the transcripts were released last Tuesday, little defense of Nixon's Watergate posture is heard among the Virginia delegation, which ranked number one in Congress in supporting Nixon's 1973 legislative program.

Instaed, several Virginia House members emphasized, in interviews this week, that they will rely heavily on the ultimate findings of the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment inquiry.

They also said Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., of Roanoke, who serves on the Judiciary Committee, would be

an influence on the decision of other Virginia congressmen.

The delegation includes seven Republicans and three Democrats, and much of the dismay over the transcripts came from the Republicans.

"I'm disturbed and disappointed," said Rep. G. William Whitehurst, R-Va., of Norfolk-Virginia Beach. "The President didn't reject blackmail payments out of hand, for one thing ... and the language! Nobody on my staff uses profanity every other second, and I sure don't."

Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson, R-Va., of

Winchester, said the language and discussions of the hush money and executive clemency "disturbed and distressed" him. He said the transcripts indicate the White House handled the Watergate affair "haphazardly."

Rep. Robert W. Daniel, R-Va., whose district includes Chesapeake and Portsmouth, said the transcripts contain elements which may be used to support "preconceptions of (presidential) innocence ... as well as preconceptions of guilt."

Daniel said, "from what I've read (transcript excerpts and news analyses),

I don't see an unassailably solid case for impeachment."

Butler, the only Virginian of the Judiciary Committee, declined to comment on the transcripts, since the committee would begin receiving impeachment evidence from its staff Thursday. He said, "any discussion by me may get into the realm of what the committee must determine."

Associates of Butler suggest, however, that he, too, is upset by the tone of the White House decision-making on Watergate.

Butler also reportedly feels Nixon's

public exposure of the transcripts—it's being dubbed "indecent exposure"—here—breaches the principle of White House confidentiality and may be harmful to future administrations.

U.S. Sen. Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind-Va., said he won't comment on the transcripts because the House could impeach Nixon, which would make Byrd, like other senators, "judge and juror" at the President's trial. (The chief justice would be the presiding judge, but the

See Page 50, Col. 1

Butler Says Panel Will Get Tapes

R-T-
Thurs-
May 9, 1974

By ROBERT B. SEARS
Times Staff Writer

The House Judiciary Committee needs White House tapes and eventually will get those that it needs, Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., said on a special Public Broadcasting System program seen on WBRA-TV Wednesday night. The program is "Washington Connection."

Butler is one of the 38 members—21 Democrats and 17 Republicans—on the committee chaired by Peter Rodino,

no, D-N.J., which for five months has been investigating whether to recommend that the House of Representatives impeach President Nixon.

Today the committee's special counsel, John Doar, will start laying out the evidence to the committee in closed sessions.

That evidence includes 19 White House tapes made available to the committee by the special Watergate prosecutor. Transcripts of those tapes prepared by the committee staff will also be part of the evidence presented to them beginning today.

And the committee members will be able to listen to the tapes on individual head sets.

"... I know that we are going to need tapes," Butler said, "but I'm not sure that we need all of the tapes."

"I'm quite confident that ultimately the tapes we need to clear up areas of controversy are going to be forthcoming."

Chairman Rodino explained that listening to the tone and the inflection of the voices on the tapes is necessary to get the meaning.

Rodino said the 19 tapes the committee now has and the transcripts the committee staff made from them show discrepancies from the transcripts issued by the White House.

The committee, Rodino said, has been able to transcribe some portions of the tapes that the White House designated as unintelligible.

The committee has decided that James St. Clair, the President's counsel, will be

permitted to question witnesses who appear before the committee.

Whether St. Clair will be permitted to cross-examine (ask leading questions) of witnesses has apparently not been decided by the committee.

NEWS

Congressman M. Caldwell Butler

6th District of Virginia

329 Cannon House Office Building

202-225-5431

WASHINGTON REPORT

May 9, 1974

(The following is the text of my weekly Washington Radio Report to the Sixth Congressional District. Beginning with this week we are forwarding copies of the Radio Report on our regular Washington Report newsletter mailing list. If you would like to receive additional copies, they may be obtained by contacting any of my offices.)

Thank you for listening to our Washington Report once more.

Much of the work of Congress is done by experts on the staff of our Committees. The experts develop a body of knowledge over the years which is most helpful to the Congressmen in drafting legislation and determining its effect. It sometimes happens, however, that the most carefully drafted legislation is passed with significant oversights of which we become aware far too late.

A recent example is the Minimum Wage Law. As you know, this legislation was vetoed by the President in 1973 and the veto was sustained by Congress. Now, more moderate legislation was passed by the Congress and signed by the President on April 8 of this year. The new rates and expanded coverage became effective on May 1.

The Minimum Wage Law as finally adopted extended coverage to those engaged in domestic service, among others.

Domestic service is not specifically defined in the legislation. But this is not unusual. If a question arises, the courts determine the intention of Congress by looking to other available information. The most reliable sources of enlightenment as to the meaning of Congress are the debate accompanying the enactment of the legislation and the Committee Reports which were before the membership at the time the legislation was debated.

It is clear, of course, that domestic service includes service performed by cooks, valets, maids, housekeepers, chauffeurs and the like. The report which accompanied the bill in the House of Representatives and the report accompanying the Senate legislation and indeed the Conference report in which their differences were resolved, are all silent as to whether the term babysitter, meaning custodial care, is included within the term domestic service. There is a substantial impression that babysitters are included within this definition.

When you have broad legislation such as the Minimum Wage Law, it is usually followed by regulations clarifying the details not included in the legislation. The Department of Labor is to issue shortly regulations effecting the recent changes in the Minimum Wage Law.

Accordingly, I have written the Department of Labor urging it to make perfectly clear in its regulations that the term babysitter is not included in domestic service. We must recognize that this is a long shot because the inclination of the Department of Labor is to expand its jurisdiction and not to contain it.

It is my conviction, however, based on my interviews with the staff, and the members of the House Committee as well as other members of the Congress, that it was not their intention to extend coverage of the Minimum Wage Law to the babysitter who tends the children of a working mother.

This is the type of legislative oversight to which I referred earlier. We can have expert staffs, we can have well informed Congressmen, but details of this nature often escape us; and I am satisfied that that is just what happened here.

I have received considerable correspondence from people in the District indicating clearly the unfortunate economic impact of including babysitters within the definition of domestic servants. There are those whose modest compensation would virtually be wiped out if this compliance is necessary, requiring them to quit their present jobs and return to the home - effectively discharging the babysitters as well. And, the opportunities for babysitters to get other employment are pretty limited.

Please understand that the regulations of the Department of Labor have not been propounded as yet. The practice, of course, is to issue regulations, allow reasonable time for comment, and then firm up the final regulations. But the preliminary offering has not been made by the Department of Labor yet.

Legislation such as the minimum wage is generally accompanied by specific exemptions from its coverage. The new law added two additional exemptions from the minimum wage. The first is the casual babysitter. Therefore, you are free to make whatever deal you can with your neighbor's teenage daughter for her babysitting services.

And, the second exemption is for those employed as companions for individuals unable because of age or infirmity to care for themselves. A wise and salutary exemption!

Assuming, however, that the Department of Labor comes to the unfortunate conclusion that babysitters employed by working mothers are included under the coverage of the new law and are therefore required to be paid the minimum wage, I will propose appropriate legislation to the Congress to exempt such babysitters from this coverage. This proposal will have a rocky road, but I am going down it as far as I can.

It would be helpful to me in presenting my position to the Department of Labor (and if necessary, to the Congress) to have statements from my constituents as to the economic hardship payment of the minimum wage to babysitters would impose upon them. Accordingly, if you anticipate this experience for yourself or your friends, I would appreciate very much a letter to this effect which I can include in the most appropriate manner to support my views.

Thank you again for listening to my Washington Report.

The Weather

Today—Partly cloudy, high around 70, low around 50. Chance of rain is 20 per cent today, 10 per cent tonight. Saturday—Cloudy, high in the 70s. Temperature range: Today, 71-51; Yesterday, 68-55. Details on B7.

The Washington Post

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Impeachment Hearings Begin on Hill



The House Judiciary Committee opens its hearings on the impeachment of President Nixon. The President's lawyer, James D. St. Clair, is at left foreground.

House Committee Hears Staff Report In Closed Session

By Richard L. Lyons and George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writers

After nearly seven months of preliminaries, the House Judiciary Committee yesterday began the crucial fact-finding phase of its historic mission to determine whether the President of the United States should be impeached.

The last time Congress embarked on such a mission was 1868, when President Andrew Johnson was on trial.

For a brief 20 minutes, a divided nation witnessed the opening on live television as two senior members made opening statements calling on their 36 colleagues to put aside partisan politics as they begin their "awesome task" and proceed with "wisdom, decency and principle."

President Nixon's lawyer, James D. St. Clair, was present to assure fairness for his client. He agreed to abide by the committee's rule of confidentiality, which Chairman Peter W. Rodino (D-N.J.) said permitted him to discuss confidential material only with the President.

Then, after a brief flurry of protest, the committee voted, 31 to 6, to go behind closed doors to hear from its staff a recitation of events that led up to the break-in of the Democratic Party's national headquarters in the Watergate office complex here on the night of June 17, 1972, and triggered events that led to the impeachment inquiry. The missing member was Rep. Walter Flowers (D-Ala.), who was attending a groundbreaking ceremony in his home state.

It was the firing of Watergate Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox last Oct. 20 that produced the avalanche of public protest that forced the House to begin the inquiry. Since then, a staff of 104 has been assembled and has collected material concerning a long list of allegations against the President, ranging from bombing Cambodia to trading government favors for contributions from dairy interests.

After a closed session of nearly three hours, Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) said none of the information presented by the staff indicated that the President had prior knowledge of the Watergate break-in. He called this first presentation a stage-setting background session that added no infor-

Aides Say President To Stay On

By Carroll Kilpatrick
Washington Post Staff Writer

With Republican demands for resignation on the rise, the White House emphasized again yesterday that President Nixon is determined to stay in office whatever party leaders and others may say.

Press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler spoke of the President's "mood of determination," and communications director Ken W. Clawson said that the President is not going to quit "even if hell freezes over."

Yet among lower-echelon White House aides there is much less certainty that the President can much longer withstand the onslaught against him, magnified as it has been since publication of the edited tapes transcripts last week.

The White House staff seem to be divided into two groups on the issue of resignation: the small group that sees the President expresses absolute confidence that he will never resign; the larger group that has almost no personal contact with the President wonders how he can much longer withstand the pressures.

One long-time assistant, acknowledging that the situation is serious, said nevertheless that "we knew this would be a rough time. Criticisms from the Chicago Tribune and Omaha World-Herald hurt. But we are hopeful that as things settle

Defections Spread Within Republican Party

Pressure for Nixon's Removal

By Laurence Stern and Mary Russell
Washington Post Staff Writers

Ominous signs of spreading defection within his own Republican Party arose on Capitol Hill yesterday as pressure for President Nixon's resignation or impeachment mounted relentlessly.

Two top House Republican figures, Minority Leader John Rhodes of Arizona and Republican Conference Chairman John Anderson of Illinois, publicly suggested that Mr. Nixon consider resigning.

Rhodes, citing editorial demands for resignation or impeachment in newspapers once strongly partisan toward the President, said Mr. Nixon should be considering leaving the White House "when you have responsible people and institutions reading the transcripts and changing their views."

The editorial calls for the

President's removal from office came from such staunch former Nixon supporters as the Chicago Tribune, the Omaha World-Herald and William Randolph Hearst Jr., editor-in-chief of the Hearst newspapers.

In Friday's editions, both the Los Angeles Times and the Cleveland Plain Dealer called editorially for the President's impeachment.

Anderson, claiming that the President had "damaged himself irreparably" by releasing the Watergate transcripts, said he would welcome the President's resignation. He asserted that a "consensus" for resignation is emerging in the Republican Party—both within the House and at large.

"The transcripts make it quite clear he was deeply involved in Watergate on See PRESSURE, A14, Col. 1



Rhodes: "If Nixon comes to conclude that he can no longer be effective as President, he will do something about it... if he should resign, I would accept it."



Anderson: "Given the sentiment I have detected on the floor of the House, if I had to predict, I would predict he would be impeached."

Solemn Opening of Process

By William Greider
Washington Post Staff Writer

Historians will note that the formal process began on May 9, a gray day when light spring rain dampened the capital city and an ominous political thunder threatened the presidency of Richard M. Nixon.

The ceremonial beginning lacked dramatic substance. The House Committee on the Judiciary, 38 men and women, all lawyers, started their investigation of the President with an appropriate melody of public solemnities. But their genuine work began in private session, their first serious consideration of the evidence for impeachment.

That formal hearing made the day historic, yet it was upstaged by an intangible drama unfolding in Washington, a gathering atmosphere of crisis for the embattled President. Old political friends obliquely ex-

pressed their own pessimism about his future. Other long-standing allies reluctantly urged him to give up the fight now and spare the nation the constitutional agony that lies ahead.

"This is a very tough column for me to write," publisher William Randolph Hearst Jr. began, "but events this week make it imperative. The essence—or lead, as we say in the newspaper business—is that President Nixon has made it impossible for me to continue believing what he claims about himself in the Watergate mess."

The Hearst newspaper chain was among the most loyal to Mr. Nixon. Now its editor-in-chief wants him to resign.

So does the Omaha World-Herald, another stalwart See PROCESS, A9, Col. 1

Wholesale Prices Rise 0.7% Despite Farm, Feed Decrease

By James L. Rowe Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

Wholesale prices rose another 0.7 per cent in April, despite a 3 per cent decline in farm and feed prices, the Labor Department reported yesterday.

Industrial commodities, led by big increases in metals prices for the second month in a row, jumped 2.3 per cent, slightly less than the 2.9 per cent increase in March.

The 0.7 per cent increase was the smallest since last October. All classes of industrial commodities increased, however, ranging from a 5.3 per cent increase for pulp and paper products to a 0.2 per cent increase in hides.

Herbert Stein, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, drew no conclusions from the wholesale price index other than noting that the declines in farm product prices "are likely to be reflected in much smaller increases in food prices than occurred in the first quarter of 1974."

The farm price decline was the second in a row. Even though farm prices are 5 per cent below their February level, they are still 14.7 per cent higher than they were in April, 1973.

Industrial commodities prices are 20.7 per cent higher than a year ago. The wholesale price index stood at 155.3 per cent of its 1967 average, meaning that goods which cost \$100 in 1967 cost \$155.30 last month. The index is 18.8 per

cent higher than in April, 1973.

Wholesale prices can be expected to rise at a fast clip in May, also.

Metals prices accounted for about one-third of the boost in commodities last month, the

Democrats in House Sidetrack Reforms

By Mary Russell
Washington Post Staff Writer

House Democrats voted yesterday to sidetrack wide-ranging proposals to reform House procedures and the committee structure. It was a serious defeat for the Democratic leadership.

By secret ballot, the Democratic Caucus voted 111-to-95 to send the reform proposals to a caucus subcommittee for further consideration, a move some proponents said will drastically weaken or kill the reforms for this Congress.

The caucus subcommittee, headed by Rep. Julia Butler Hansen (D-Wash.), is ordered to report back by July.

But the Rules Committee is ordered not to report the reforms to the House floor for consideration until the caucus has acted on the Hansen subcommittee report.

Members of the Hansen unit include three of the leading opponents of the reforms, Rep. Phil Burton (Calif.)



REP. RICHARD BOLLING
... "I'm fairly stubborn"

Wayne Hays (Ohio) and Frank Thompson (N.J.). At least half the Hansen committee members had announced positions against the reforms.

Rep. Richard Bolling (Mo.), chairman of a special committee organized a year ago to

See REFORM, A9, Col. 1

Alexander Opens Race For Mayor

By La Barbara Bowman
Washington Post Staff Writer

Attorney Clifford L. Alexander, 40, a Democrat, formally opened his campaign for mayor yesterday by criticizing the present city administration for its performance in housing and the rebuilding of the riot corridors, and its failure to move women and blacks into high level positions.

Alexander also challenged Mayor Walter E. Washington to debate the issues with him and asserted that at the beginning of each month, he would give citizens an accounting of his campaign contributors.

"I intend to run a campaign which will stress people involvement; this is the kind of government, after all, that citizens are entitled to," he said.

Mayor Washington is expected to announce his candidacy Saturday afternoon at the Masonic Hall at 10th and U Streets NW. The two men will face each other in the Democratic primary on Sept. 7.

Several candidates for City Council also announced yesterday, including Delano Lewis, 35, of 3236 McKinley St. NW, a Democrat running at large; former City Council member Polly Shackleton, 64, of 3232 Reservoir Rd., a Democrat running from ward 3; Bert Hall Jr., 40, of 1527 38th St. SE, running as a Democrat from ward 7; and James W. Curry, 51, of 1209 Clifton St. NW, running as a Democrat in

See ANNOUNCE, A6, Col. 5



VICE PRESIDENT FORD
... "speaking frankly"

Editing of Tape Transcripts Criticized Obliquely by Ford

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

Vice President Gerald R. Ford yesterday criticized by implication the editing of the White House transcripts on Watergate, suggesting it contributed to "a crisis of confidence" in the federal government.

In a speech at Eastern Illinois University in Charleston, Ill., Ford said:

"While it may be easy to delete characterization from the printed page, we cannot delete characterization from people's minds with a wave of the hand. That is why I am speaking frankly on the subject, perhaps more so

than some of my colleagues might wish. But I think the matter is so vital that it must be discussed in public—by public officials. And it must be discussed thoroughly."

The remark appeared to be a clear reference to the phrase "characterization omitted" used in the transcripts to note the deletion of material in which the speaker made personal references to individuals.

At a press conference at the University of Chicago later, however, Ford said he "was not obliquely referring to the transcripts" in his remark.

When Ford arrived at O'Hare Airport in Chicago after the speech and before the press conference, a portable phone was rushed aboard his plane for what an aide described as a very important call. His press secretary, Paul Miltich, denied the call had come from the White House.

Ford, referring to criticism of the transcripts, said it is "unfair to look at just a cold word on a page and extrapolate a meaning from it. You should really be in the room... You cannot condemn or condone cold words on paper."

See FORD, A8, Col. 1

Rebozo Probed on Missing \$50,000

By Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein
Washington Post Staff Writers

The Senate Watergate committee has obtained testimony alleging that \$50,000 in cash, given by a food chain executive to Charles G. (Bebe) Rebozo as a secret contribution to President Nixon's re-election effort, never reached the President's campaign committee as intended, according to informed sources.

Rebozo has acknowledged in sworn testimony that he received an envelope containing \$50,000, the sources said. He contends that he turned the money over to Frederick C. LaRue, a Nixon campaign official who has pleaded guilty to obstructing justice in the Watergate case.

LaRue, however, has testified in a closed-door session that he did not

receive the money and, in the words of one source close to him, "he can say for sure that he knows positively that he did not get the money..."

According to independent sources, investigators for the Senate committee have been unable to find any record that the \$50,000 was received by the President's campaign committee.

The sources reported that investigators now are seeking to find out whether circumstances surrounding the \$50,000 contribution represent a pattern in which Rebozo, never officially a fund raiser for the Nixon campaign, collected secret cash contributions that may never have been used for campaign purposes.

Another contribution they are investigating, the sources said, involves \$100,000 in cash that Rebozo received

from an emissary of billionaire Howard Hughes. Rebozo testified that he kept that \$100,000 in a safe deposit box for three years and then returned it. But President Nixon's personal lawyer Herbert W. Kalmbach, has testified that Rebozo told him portions of the \$100,000 were either lent or given to the President's secretary, Rose Mary Woods, and Mr. Nixon's brother, F. Donald Nixon.

Senate investigators are attempting to determine what happened to the newly discovered \$50,000—allegedly given to Rebozo by A. D. Davis, vice chairman of the Winn-Dixie Corp., a food chain headquartered in Jacksonville, Fla.

According to Rebozo's testimony about the \$50,000, he received the See REBOZO, A12, Col. 1

Ruckelshaus, Rusk Decry Wiretapping

By Tim O'Brien
Washington Post Staff Writer

Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk and former FBI acting Director William D. Ruckelshaus yesterday urged Congress to step up its oversight of government wiretapping and surveillance activities.

Rusk, who headed the State Department for eight years in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, said he recalls no "instance of wiretapping or other electronic surveillance directed toward any officer of the Department of State or any newsman for the purpose of discovering leaks."

Both men appeared before a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee that is investigating, among other things, the phone taps on 17 government officials and newsmen between 1969 and 1971 in an administration effort to plug leaks to the press.

Ruckelshaus, who reviewed records of the taps, said the results showed no evidence that the taps were proper or added to the national security. He said some of the individuals who were tapped "had very little if any relationship to national security."

Rusk said he knew of no such taps ordered by Presidents Kennedy or Johnson, and he suggested that he would have quit had such taps been placed on members of his staff without his prior knowledge. "There would have been someone else in my office the next day," he said.

Ruckelshaus, who was deputy attorney general before leaving the Nixon administration in the wake of the Saturday Night Massacre, said all government taps, including those justified by reference to "national security," should be subject to court warrants.

"The argument that the courts do not have expertise in the field of foreign affairs has some validity," Ruckelshaus said, "but the purpose

of a court warrant is to avoid abuse of the power by causing its exercise to be shared."

Along with Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, former Attorney General John N. Mitchell and former White House advisers John D. Erlichman and H. R. (Bob) Halde- man, Ruckelshaus is named as a defendant in an invasion of privacy suit filed by Morton H. Halperin, one of the National Security Council staff members tapped in an effort to pinpoint leaks of classified foreign policy material.

Ruckelshaus was not party to the decision to tap, but he was named because of his role as "custodian" of the wiretap records. The suit does not seek damages from him.

Kissinger and then-Secretary of State William P. Rogers have said they were unaware of the installation of the taps. Kissinger has said he merely supplied a list of government officials who had access to classified documents.

Rusk, who now teaches international law at the University of Georgia, discounted the impact of leaks to the media, arguing that the "chemistry" of Presidents makes them more sensitive about leaks than Secretaries of State are.

Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.), once bugged by the FBI for participating in an "Earth Day" ceremony, said, "If any President can invoke the catch-all phrase 'national security' to violate the individual's right to privacy and other constitutional liberties then the whole foundation of the constitutional system is imperiled."

Ruckelshaus revealed that, in the course of tapping the phones of the 17 targets between 1969 and 1971, President Nixon's voice was picked up. Apparently it was in a conversation with former White House speechwriter William Safire, one of the 17.



Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, left, and Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) testify before a Senate subcommittee probing wiretaps.

Senate Bars Filibuster On Busing

By Spencer Rich
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate headed for a series of showdown votes on the school busing issue after agreeing yesterday to bar any filibuster on the \$23 billion school-aid authorization bill.

The Senate is split right down the middle on anti-busing amendments, and it had been thought that one side or the other might try to filibuster to prevent a final vote if it lost on the busing issue.

However, the Senate agreed to take all votes on individual anti-busing amendments next Wednesday and Thursday. Take an added vote on a Robert P. Griffin (R-Mich.) substitute bill which includes an anti-busing provision on May 21, and vote the whole bill up or down that same day.

The House-passed version contains a provision forbidding the government or the courts to order children bused for desegregation purposes beyond the school closest or next-closest to their homes. Any existing court order contravening this rule could be recognized no matter how old. Griffin and Sen. James B. Allen (D-Ala.) along with Edward J. Gurney (R-Fla.) are leading the fight to add this language to the Senate bill.

However, Sens. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) and Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.), backed by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, contend the amendment violates constitutional rights and would undo a generation of school desegregation progress.

Besides busing, key votes will come on a John McClellan (D-Ark.) amendment to use a formula more favorable to Southern rural areas in distributing \$2 billion annually in Title I aid to elementary and secondary schools, and an amendment by Carl Curtis (R-Neb.) to use administration revenue-sharing formulas for the whole bill.

Two years ago a Griffin anti-busing amendment even stronger than the House language was beaten, 49 to 48. Northern Civil rights advocates filibustered a similar proposal to death later that year.

The White House is supporting anti-busing language.

President to Name River Panel Member

President Nixon will nominate Army Brig. Gen. Wayne S. Nichols to serve on the Mississippi River Commission, the White House said yesterday. The seven-member commission coordinates flood control and navigation improvement projects on the Mississippi River.

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Pentagon Still Sees Value

Chemical Warfare Under Scrutiny

By Michael Getler
Washington Post Staff Writer

A House subcommittee looking into U.S. chemical warfare policy was told yesterday that an "intensive" administration-wide review will be completed in a month or two.

But acting Assistant Secretary of Defense Amos A. Jordan also told the House panel that the Nixon administration's long-held opposition to a ban on chemical weapons such as herbicides and riot control agents "has not changed."

Testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Development, Jordan made clear that the Pentagon still feels there is military value in such weapons and strongly opposes renewed Congressional attempts to include these weapons in the 1925 Geneva protocol prohibiting first-use of chemical and biological weapons.

The 49-year-old protocol has

been before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for about four years, its Senate ratification held up because the committee and the White House are at odds over inclusion of herbicides and riot control agents in the U.S. interpretation.

There is a growing move in both houses to resolve this dispute and, in so doing, to move toward possibly more extensive international prohibitions.

While Jordan's testimony suggested that the administration wasn't budging, at least thus far, other senior administration officials have said privately that the matter has received little attention from Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

Until that happens, they say, the lower-level reviews may not reflect whether the administration will seek to be more conciliatory with the Senate committee.

These officials say that

while they believe there is some military value to some chemical weapons, there is no strongly held position on it outside the Pentagon.

Aside from the protocol, the other major controversy involves the Army's plan to build production facilities for "binary" nerve gas artillery shells to modernize its arsenal.

Yesterday, Jordan was questioned on two of the critical points surrounding these new shells, which produce lethal nerve gas when their two otherwise non-lethal chemical components are mixed within the shell.

Jordan said he could not answer questions in open session about how much these munitions might cost. Unofficial estimates have run as high as \$1.5 billion should the project be expanded beyond artillery to rockets and cluster bombs.

Jordan also said the panel would have to close its doors to discuss whether the United

States has consulted its European allies and gotten agreement to store these new munitions in their countries.

In defending the Pentagon position, Jordan argued that without a truly verifiable ban on chemical weapons, the United States still needs them to deter an attack by such weapons and to respond in kind if attacked.

He said that simply having protective masks and equipment to defend against attack was not enough, because this gear impedes the mobility of defending forces and thus gives an advantage to an attacker who need not fear retaliation in kind.

Jordan also argued that because chemical weapons can only be used in a tactical or battlefield situation, their use would not be as dramatic an escalation as one in which the response to first use of chemical weapons would be small nuclear weapons.

Postal Rate Delay Voted By Senate

United Press International

The Senate voted 71 to 11 yesterday to ease the impact of increasing postal rates on magazines and newspapers.

One dissenter, Sen. Hiram R. Fong (R-Hawaii) protested: "This is a simple raid—a rip-off—on the U.S. Treasury."

The bill, sent to the House, would stretch out the period over which the publications have to pay in full to higher rates set by the Postal Rate Commission. The rates themselves would not be affected.

The time span for increases in regular second class (including newspapers and magazines), special or book-rate fourth class (including books and records), and controlled circulation publications would be extended to eight years from five. Rates would meet attributable costs plus a contribution to institutional costs by 1979 instead of 1976, as now decreed by a 1971 law.

The period for no profit third class (covering circulars and charitable organizations) and special fourth class library rates would be extended to 16 years from 10, reaching its peak in 1987.

The loss to the Postal Service resulting from the stretch-out would be made up by a government subsidy estimated at \$753.7 million.

Sen. Gale McGee (D-Wyo.) said rates for newspapers and magazines have increased by 74 per cent since May, 1971, and by 1976 would go 217 to 300 per cent over this month's rates.

Fong argued that "the publishing and record manufacturing industries are enjoying record profits and circulation."

Sen. William L. Scott (R-Va.) voted against the stretch-out. Harry F. Byrd Jr. (Ind.-Va.) voted "present." J. Glenn Beall Jr. (R-Md.) voted for the bill. Charles McC. Mathias (R-Md.) did not vote.

Strike in Punjab

Agence France-Presse

RAWALPINDI, May 9.—The government today closed down all schools and colleges in the Punjab in the wake of a strike by thousands of teachers throughout the province in support of wage increases.

Gasoline, Health Insurance

House Tax Unit Gnaws At Itemized Privileges

The House Ways and Means Committee has put taxpayers on notice that tax reform may mean giving up some cherished advantages, even the average man's gasoline tax deduction and the executive's specially treated stock option.

The committee, beginning the draft of a tax reform bill, told its staff to write a series of changes narrowing advantages in the present law. But it said these will all be reviewed before the bill is put in final form for the House.

Especially slated for review are proposals to end deductions of state gasoline taxes, of the first \$100 of dividends, and of half the cost of health insurance premiums.

The committee also ordered drafting of new provisions that would sharply reduce the advantage of giving stock options to executives. No longer would the extra value of such options enjoy deferred taxation and favorable capital gains rates.

Expenses of attending conventions outside the United States no longer would be deductible unless there was some special reason for holding the meeting abroad, not just the possibility of combining a business trip with a vacation.

Charging part of one's home maintenance and taking depreciation expenses because some work is done at home would be subjected to much tighter restrictions.

Also tightened would be the

rules on taking tax deductions for second homes, such as beach condominiums or ski lodges, when these were rented out part of the time. In general, to get the full advantage of such properties as business investments, the owner would have to make only minimum use of them for his own pleasure.

Sen. Long Backs Cut In Income Taxes

Associated Press

Chairman Russell B. Long (D-La.) of the Senate Finance Committee yesterday endorsed a proposal to cut income taxes.

"Perhaps we need a cut in federal income taxes to stimulate the economy," said Long, whose support is regarded as crucial to passage of tax legislation in the Senate.

The tax proposal endorsed by Long is expected to be debated next week in the Senate. Proposed as an amendment to a House-passed tariff bill, it would increase the personal income tax exemption from \$750 to \$825 and give taxpayers the option of taking a \$190 tax credit instead of the individual exemption.

The bill also would provide a tax credit for the working poor, beginning with a 10 per cent credit on all earned income up to \$4,000 a year for a family of four. It would phase out on income earned above \$5,600 per year.

Good for a Gallon of Quarters

Gas Coupons Activate Bill-Changing Machines

By Tim O'Brien
Washington Post Staff Writer

Back when the energy problem was a crisis, the Federal Energy Office ordered the printing of 4.8 billion gasoline rationing coupons, to be distributed in the event that rationing became a reality.

When the crisis eased and rationing became unnecessary, the coupons—printed by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing at a cost of \$12.5 million—were stored away for any future crisis.

Yesterday it was revealed that the coupons are worth a dollar apiece to any holder with access to a dollar bill changing machine. The coupons may now have to be destroyed.

Rep. Bill Gunter (D-Fla.) said the coupons carry the image of George Washington, the same face used on dollar bills, and can be used "in any standard bill changing machine in the country and will return a dollar's worth of change."

Gunter said the coupons are reportedly

under armed guard at five secret locations around the country, but that they may have to be destroyed because they cannot be used in their present form.

An FEO spokesman confirmed the report, but he denied that the episode was a "colossal blunder" as charged by Gunter.

The spokesman said the coupons were intentionally designed to allow consumers "to compare a coupon with a dollar bill and thereby expose counterfeiters." He said the coupons, if ever used, would be worth more than a dollar on the open market and that it would therefore be unlikely that they would glut bill changing machines.

As the government's standby rationing plan is designed, the coupons would not be redeemable for gasoline but instead would entitle the holder to purchase a certain number of gallons.

The FEO spokesman said the coupons are now under "lock and key" at several federal facilities.

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Rep. Butler Checking Babysitter Wage Rules

Times Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON — Roanoke Republican Rep. M. Caldwell Butler is making an effort to please the working mothers—but perhaps not the full time babysitters—of the 6th District.

He is prepared to introduce legislation exempting babysitters who take care of working mothers' children from the minimum wage law in case the Labor Department interprets recently-passed legislation to include babysitters. The mandatory minimum wage is \$1.90 per hour.

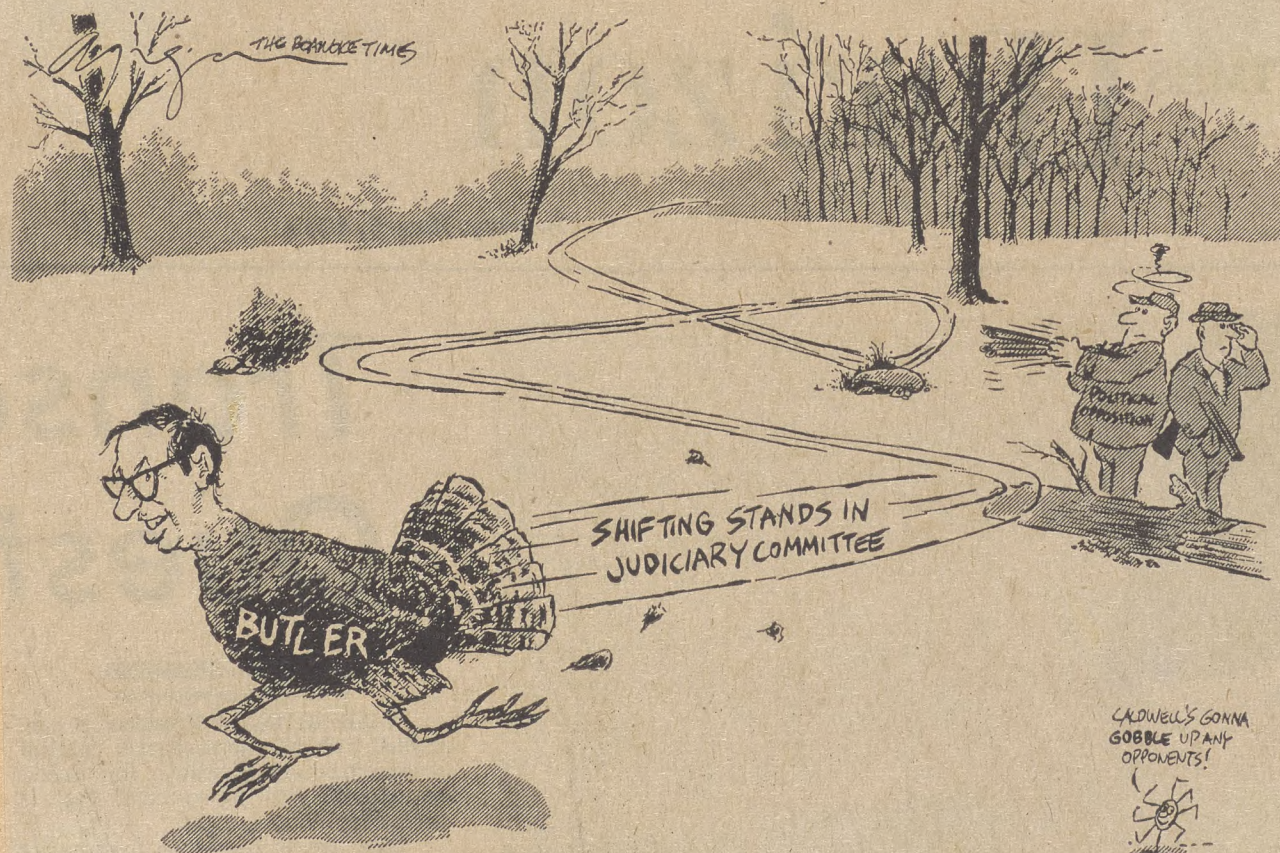
In a weekly recording provided to area radio stations, Butler said he had written Secretary of Labor Peter Brennan about the ruling after the congressman had re-

ceived complaints from several constituents that paying their babysitters the minimum wage would wipe out most of their earnings.

"There are those whose modest compensation would be virtually wiped out if this compliance is necessary, requiring them to quit their present jobs and return to the home—effectively discharging the babysitters as well," Butler said.

Editorials THE ROANOKE TIMES

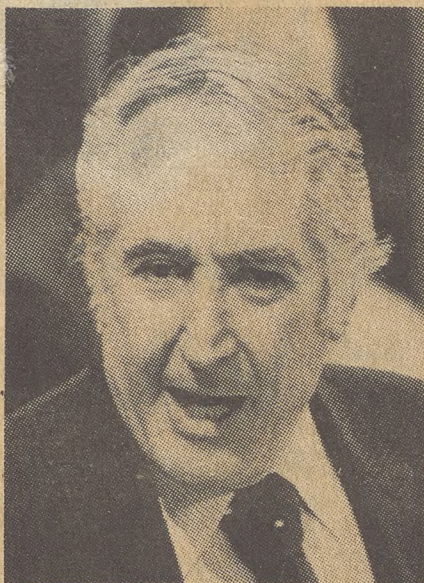
Sunday, May 5, 1974



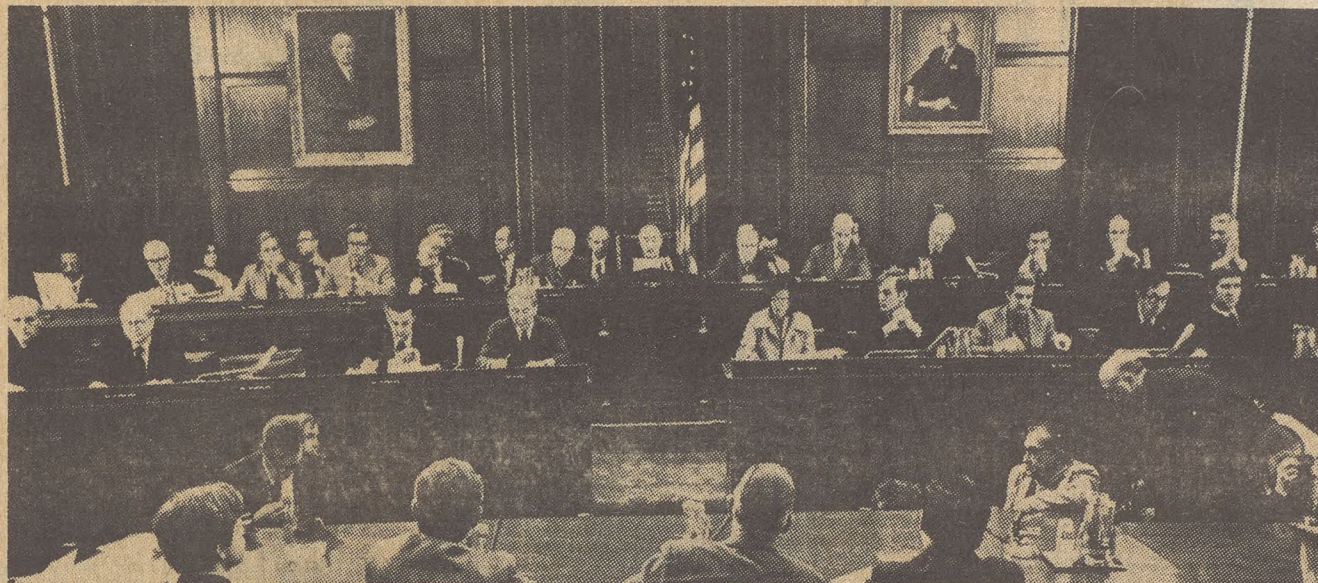
A Moving Target Is Harder To Hit

It Wasn't Always This Way

Tues May 14 '74



AP photo



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer



AP photo

Out of obscurity into history: Rodino, Hutchinson, 36 other lawyer-legislators ponder their votes on impeachment

'Who's who' in spotlight of House Judiciary Committee

By Guy Halverson
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The U.S. House Judiciary Committee, enshrouded in obscurity for much of its long tenure, is suddenly finding itself in a not altogether comfortable role of best-known committee of Congress.

Meeting in Room 2141 of the Rayburn House Office Building and charged with the question of possible impeachment of President Nixon, the committee is made up of 38 members — 21 Democrats, and 17 Republicans.

Taken as a whole:

- The committee is younger and somewhat more liberal than the full House of Representatives. It is highly educated. All members are lawyers, several of them considered keen constitutional scholars.

- Though overwhelmingly white and male, it includes three blacks and two women. It is predominantly Protestant, though there are some Roman Catholic members.

- Twenty-six of the 38 members come from east of the Mississippi River. There are seven Southerners, 12 Midwesterners, and seven from the

densely populated New York-New Jersey area.

'Voting blocs' identified

Three "voting blocs" on the committee can be identified quickly:

- Those Democrats whose remarks suggest an inclination most favoring impeachment: Jerome R. Waldie of California; Robert F. Drinan of Massachusetts; John Conyers Jr. of Michigan; Robert W. Kastenmeier of Wisconsin; Don Edwards of California; Charles B. Rangel of New York, and Elizabeth Holtzman of New York.

- Those Republicans who have indicated the strongest aversion to impeachment: Edward M. Hutchinson of Michigan; David W. Dennis, of Indiana; Charles E. Wiggins, California; Charles W. Sandman Jr., New Jersey; Carlos J. Moorhead, California; Delbert L. Latta, Ohio and Trent Lott, Mississippi.

- Finally, there is an important bloc of "swing Republicans," who often vote on important procedural matters with the Democratic majority: Thomas F. Rallsback of Illinois; Hamilton Fish Jr. and Henry P. Smith III, both of New York; William S.

Cohen of Maine; and M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia.

Many lawmakers believe the votes for impeachment already exist on the committee, although White House counsel James D. St. Clair said last week that he felt the issue would be stopped before reaching the full House.

[Vice-President Gerald Ford said over the weekend that he expected the Judiciary Committee to recommend impeachment but that the full House would reject the recommendation.]

Although such a listing is by necessity selective, here are capsule observations on several of the more vocal or influential members of the committee:

Peter J. Rodino, chairman. Democrat. A 26-year House veteran from Newark, N.J., Mr. Rodino, who has written some poetry and songs, has supported past Nixon administration "law and order" measures (such as "no-knock" legislation) while taking a liberal stand on bread-and-butter issues. Mr. Rodino has worked to build a "bipartisan" consensus on the committee.

Representative Hutchinson, the ranking Republican, is from western Michigan. Quiet, a constitutional scholar and millionaire, Mr. Hutchinson argues that presidential impeachment can be based only on commission of a serious high crime.

Harold D. Donohue, ranking Democrat behind Chairman Rodino, is from Worcester, Mass. Passive in debate, he introduces most majority party motions — usually "on cue," some Republicans chuckle.

Robert McClory, second ranking Republican, is a moderate, from Lake Bluff, Ill., on Chicago's northwest suburban area. Mr. McClory's district is heavily Republican — and solid Chicago Tribune country. The powerful Republican Tribune recently called for Mr. Nixon's resignation or impeachment.

'Hawkish' on impeachment

Mr. Wiggins (R) of California represents part of Mr. Nixon's old California congressional district, including parts of Whittier. Some observers believe that Mr. Wiggins has become the nucleus of anti-impeach-

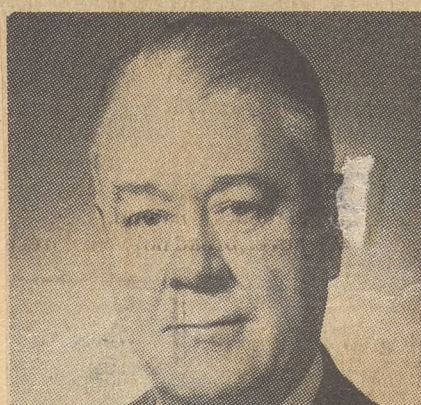
ment Republicans, though he denies inferences that he is the committee's "White House voice."

Representative Conyers, a black five-term liberal, along with California Democrat Jerome Waldie has been perhaps the most aggressively "hawkish" on impeachment, first introducing an impeachment resolution late last year.

Barbara Jordan, Democrat from Texas, is a moderate. Usually reticent during debate, she is eloquent and incisive when she speaks. She is one of the committee's three black members.

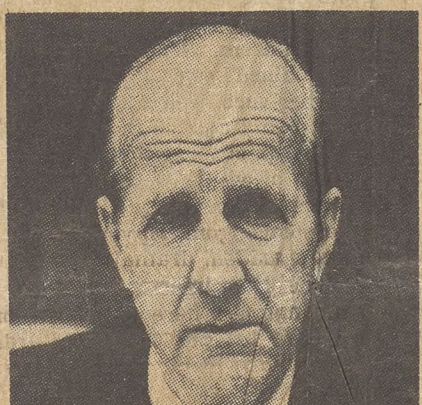
Elizabeth Holtzman is an antiwar liberal, intense and keenly intelligent.

Thomas F. Rallsback is a four-term Republican from Moline, Ill. His district along the Mississippi River has the largest cluster of small towns between Chicago and Omaha. How Mr. Rallsback votes is considered crucial — and probably representative of how well Mr. Nixon will fare with the committee. Mr. Rallsback, like Representatives Smith and Fish of New York and Cohen of Maine, is considered a key swing vote on impeachment.



By Fabian Bachrach

Harold Donohue



Photos by R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Robert McClory



Barbara Jordan



Jerome Waldie



Elizabeth Holtzman

Butler firms up subpoena

By JACK BETTS

Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—In its greatest display of solidarity, the House Judiciary Committee today approved an amendment by Roanoke Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., to strengthen a subpoena of 11 White House recordings and then approved a subpoena on a 37-1 vote.

The lone dissenter on the rollcall vote was ranking minority member Edward Hutchinson, R-Mich.

The subpoena vote marked only the second time in the nation's history that a House committee has issued a subpoena to the President. The first time was in April when the committee voted 22-17, with Butler the only Republican joining the committee's 21 Democrats, to subpoena 42 White House tapes.

Butler offered his amendment to the subpoena to make the language more specific so that "they (the White House) cannot say 'we gave you the transcripts, so you don't need the tapes.'"

The draft subpoena had called for "all tapes, Dictabelts, or other electronic and/or mechanical recordings, transcripts, memoranda, notes or other writings or things relating to" the 11 conversations on three different days in 1972.

Butler's amendment, which surprised a number of committee members because it made the subpoena tougher, struck the word "or" in several places and substituted the word "and."

During a recess before the vote, Butler told a colleague, "I don't think I'll get very far with it," but following brief debate the committee accepted the Butler proposal on a voice vote.

Earlier, committee members had questioned the committee's counsel on whether the tapes actually existed.

Butler said, "I don't know if they exist or not, but if there are transcripts then it's reasonable to assume that the tapes exist. So shouldn't we just delete the word 'transcripts' in the subpoena?"

Both chief counsel John Doar and minority counsel Albert Jenner disagreed, arguing that the committee is entitled to all the materials the President has on the conversations in question.

Replied Butler, "I'm dissatisfied with the counsels' response on the wording of this subpoena. It's got the disjunctive rather than the conjunctive in it, so I'm offering this amendment."

Butler later agreed to keep the word transcript in the subpoena, and added, "Now we are saying we want all the tapes and the transcripts. I think that ought to make it perfectly clear."

The committee's deliberation was marked by a humorous exchange between Butler, the committee's clerk and the chairman, Rep. Peter Rodino, D-N.J.

When the reading clerk was called upon to state Butler's amendment, he had read only a few words when Butler exclaimed, "That's the wrong amendment."

"Well, it's the only amendment I've got here," said the clerk.

"Then we're in a hell of a shape," said Butler, who then added, "make that, 'expletive deleted.'"

Rodino, bursting into laughter with the rest of the standing-room-only audience, slammed his gavel down and boomed, "It is so ordered."

The 11 subpoenaed tapes, which are to be furnished by next Wednesday, May 22, include tapes of conversations that took place on April 4, 1972, between the President and former White House aide H. R. Haldeman and former attorney general John Mitchell.

Editorials

THE ROANOKE TIMES

Sunday, May 19, 1974

Resign or Impeach?

Tuesday *The World-News* called for the resignation of President Nixon. Last Sunday *The Roanoke Times* endorsed the impeachment process. There are searching arguments on both sides and it is possible that the final resolution of the tragedy will contain elements of both.

The main argument for resignation is that it avoids the possibly long impeachment process and the erosion of presidential authority when it is needed in foreign and domestic affairs.

An argument against resignation is that it would emotionally divide the country and perpetrate a myth that will be hard to live with for two decades. A better argument is that it is not fair to Mr. Nixon or to the country to avoid due process of law. Justice requires that charges be considered and, if charges are made, that a verdict be reached as provided in the Constitution. To avoid this due process is, in a sense, an obstruction of justice—the same charge some people believe should be made against President Nixon.

The impeachment process, however, is divided into three parts: The inquiry by the House Judiciary Committee; a decision by the House of Representatives to bring or not bring charges; and, if the third stage is reached, a trial by the Senate. If the work of the House Judiciary Committee continues to command confidence, its findings will have an enormous impact.

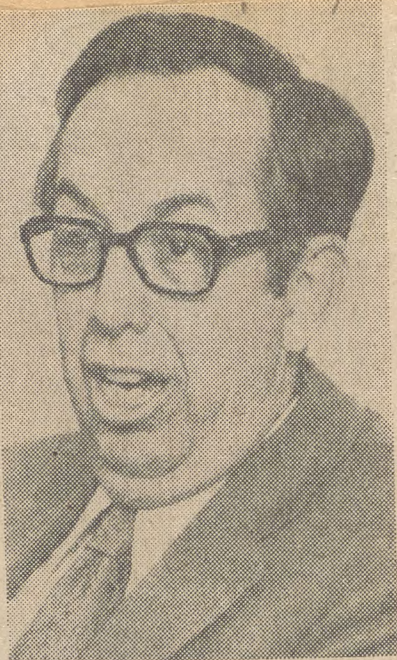
The House Judiciary Committee recommendation could virtually end the debate, at least for this year. A majority of the House would not be bold enough to disregard a recommendation against impeachment based on a clearly superior committee investigation. On the other hand, a solemn recommendation for impeachment, accompanied by a list of charges and citations of the evidence, would be overwhelming.

At this point a complicated procedure, similar to that which let Vice President Agnew out and off last year, could take over. The result would be a combination of due process of law and a resignation to meet the urgencies of the situation.

There is a third alternative. Under the Twenty-Fifth Amendment, President Nixon could step aside temporarily, leave Vice President Ford as chief executive during an impeachment trial, and return to the presidency if the Senate does not muster a two-thirds vote against him. This route looks highly improbable. The encouraging fact is that the system is working despite enormous strains put upon it. Although the ultimate outcome is beyond prediction there is ground for confidence that an end can be reached which satisfies justice—and most people.

A Ray of Light

Every once in a while a ray of light appears out of the Watergate cloud and this time it comes from the House Judiciary Committee, discussed in the editorial above. Last November Chairman Peter Rodino, a Democrat from New Jersey, was subject to faint ridicule; now he appears as a man risen in stature. Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, a Republican from this corner of the country, is in his first term but on the impeachment question he has used good judgment at almost every turn of a winding road. There are still a few committed zealots on the committee. There still may be a partisan spat or two. But the members by and large have risen to the majestic occasion. Their performance so far is a compliment to human nature and politicians in general, to American political institutions in particular.



Rep. M. Caldwell Butler

Butler Plan Strengthens Subpoena

From Times Staff and Wire Reports
WASHINGTON — The House Judiciary Committee, in its strongest showing of bipartisan strength, Wednesday approved an amendment by Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke to strengthen a subpoena for 11 White House tapes and then backed the subpoena 37-1.

The only dissenter on the roll call vote was ranking minority member Edward Hutchinson, R-Mich.

By top-heavy votes, the committee also subpoenaed schedules of Nixon's daily meetings and conversations during four periods of time, and set a vote Thursday on subpoenas for tapes of 66 presidential conversations dealing with other matters under investigation.

The subpoena vote marked only the second time in the nation's history that a House committee has issued a subpoena to the president. The first time was in April when the committee voted 22-17, with Butler the only Republican joining the committee's Democrats, to subpoena 42 White House tapes.

The Butler amendment to the subpoena was offered to make the language more specific so "They (the White House) cannot say 'We gave you the transcripts, so you don't need the tapes.'"

The draft subpoena had called for "all tapes, dictabelts or other electronic and or mechanical recordings, transcripts, memoranda, notes or other writings or things relating to" the 11 conversations on three different days in 1972.

Butler's amendment, which surprised a number of committee members because it made the subpoena tougher, struck the word "or" in several places and substituted the word "and."

During a recess before the vote, Butler told a colleague, "I don't think I'll get very far with it," but the committee accepted the proposal on a voice vote.

The vote on the Watergate tapes was a direct challenge to Nixon, who notified the committee last week he would give it no more Watergate material. The subpoena calls for delivery of the tapes next Wednesday.

Earlier Wednesday, committee members had questioned the committee's counsel on whether or not the tapes actually existed.

Butler said, "I don't know if they exist or not, but if there are transcripts, then it's reasonable to assume that the tapes exist. So shouldn't we just delete the word 'transcripts' in the subpoena?"

Both Chief Counsel John Doar and Minority Counsel Albert Jenner disagreed, arguing that the committee is entitled to all the materials the Presi-

See Page 11, Col. 4

THE ROANOKE TIMES, Thursday, May 16, 1974

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Butler Plan Strengthens Subpoena

From Page 1

dent has on the conversations in question.

Butler agreed to keep the word "transcript" in the subpoena, adding, "Now we are saying we want all the tapes and the transcripts. I think that ought to make it perfectly clear."

The 11 conversations covered by the new subpoena deal with plans for bugging Democratic headquarters, conversations a few days after the Watergate break-in and efforts to get the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to limit the FBI investigation of the break-in.

Tapes subpoenaed include conversations that took place April 4, 1972, between the President and former White House aide H. R. Haldeman and former Attorney General John Mitchell.

The committee is also trying to find out what, if anything, the President knew of campaign intelligence-gathering activities before the break-in at the Watergate Hotel on June 17, 1972.

Also subpoenaed were nine conversations between the President and a number of his aides on June 20 and 23, 1972.

In other Watergate developments Wednesday:

—In an afternoon session, the Senate Watergate Committee gave the President's chief of staff, Alexander M. Haig Jr., a second chance to answer questions about his knowledge of a \$100,000 contribution given to Nixon's friend, C. G. "Bebe" Rebozo by billionaire Howard Hughes. Haig refused to testify on the matter May 2, saying the President had

ordered him to invoke executive privilege.

—Earlier, the Senate committee voted unanimously to ask the full Senate to extend its life to June 30, partly to give its staff time to remove from the panel's final report any references to individual guilt or innocence in the scandal. Chairman Sam J. Ervin Jr., D-N.C., acknowledged that step was taken to lessen chances the report might influence the impeachment inquiry in the House.

Doar said as he proceeds through the House panel's Watergate evidence he will request additional subpoenas for tapes the White House is withholding. The committee requested 76 Watergate conversations last April 19, of which the 11 are part.

Norfolk Paper May 16? '74
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Butler

Improve Procedures: Butler to Clerks

NORFOLK—Republican Representative M. Caldwell Butler of the 6th Congressional District Saturday warned the International Institute of Municipal Clerks to "keep your eyes on Washington" during this legislative session.

Despite the fact that he is a member of the House Judiciary Committee which began its investigation into, possible impeachment of President Nixon Thursday, Butler's warning was in relation to several pieces of legislation that are of interest to the 2,200-member organization.

Butler, who has declined to comment on the White House Watergate transcripts since he will be receiving impeachment evidence, told the clerks to "simplify, clarify, and improve your registration procedures; control campaign spending; and shorten your campaigns."

Failure to do so, Butler warned, will bring about federal legislation that will add another layer of bureaucracy for municipal clerks to wade through.

A loud round of applause went up when Butler informed the clerks that the House Wednesday voted down the rule on the post-

card registration bill, 204 to 197.

Butler said this meant that the majority of congressmen felt that the bill was "so bad that the House should not even take time to consider it."

The bill would have established a voter registration administration in the federal government. The version that has passed the Senate would place it in the Census Bureau, the House version in the General Accounting Office.

Under the bill, the Voter Registration Administration would be charged with preparing postcard-

sized forms which would contain the information necessary for a person to register in each state.

In order to register for a federal election an individual would fill out the card, mail it back to the registrar, and receive a card back indicating that he has registered.

The IIMC opposes the legislation on the basis that it would create a duplication of effort. Registrars would need separate books for federal and in-state elections.

The estimated cost for imple-

menting such a system, about \$50 million, could be used more effectively, according to the clerks.

Butler said the system would invite fraud and would not improve the percentages of people voting simply because they were registered.

Despite the fact that the proposed legislation was defeated on a technicality, Butler said that "due to the parliamentary situation it could be brought up again."

Butler said that he is philosophically opposed to public financing of elections because "I feel that contributions are the ultimate expression of one's interest in the political process."

"I also believe we certainly have better things to spend our tax dollars on than political campaigns," he said.

He added that once financing of federal elections was established "the climate would be right for state financing of state campaigns and local financing of local campaigns."

The answer, he said, is in controlling the amount of money allowed to be spent and shortening the length of the campaign.

Phone Help

Training of Volunteers

VIRGINIA BEACH—The Virginia Beach Drug Outreach Center Thursday will begin an eight-week training course at the center for telephone volunteers.

The course will concentrate on providing necessary skills for crisis-intervention telephone volunteers. Qualified professionals

as well as the Outreach staff will provide an informative learning process for those interested in volunteering their time to help others. Anyone interested should call the Virginia Beach Outreach Clinic from 9 a.m. to 1 a.m. seven days a week.

R-T- Tues. May 14 '74

Butler Warns Clerks To Watch Washington

NORFOLK — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler has warned the International Institute of Municipal Clerks to "keep your eyes on Washington" during this legislative session.

Butler, in a speech Saturday, told the clerks to "simplify, clarify and improve your registration procedures; control campaign spending and shorten your campaigns."

Failure to do so, he said, will bring about federal legislation that will add another layer of bureaucracy for municipal clerks to wade through.

The clerks applauded loudly

when Butler told them the House last week voted down postcard registration, 204 to 197. Butler said the vote meant the majority of congressmen felt the bill was "so bad that the House should not even take time to consider it."

It would have established an agency to handle voter registration by postcard. An individual would fill out a card prepared by the agency, mail it back to the registrar and receive a card back indicating he had registered.

The clerks' organization opposed the bill on the basis

that it would create a duplication of effort. Registrars would need separate books for federal and state elections.

Butler said the system would invite fraud and would not improve the percentage of people voting simply because they were registered.

The 6th District congressman also said he is philosophically opposed to public financing of elections because "I feel that contributions are the ultimate expression of one's interest in the political process."

Butler Characterizes Closed Panel Sessions

WASHINGTON (AP) — Presidential council James D. St. Clair is an "attentive listener" who spends much of his time during the House Judiciary Committee's closed impeachment proceedings busily taking notes, a Virginia congressman on the panel said Friday.

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., said, "It just so happens that Mr. St. Clair sits directly front of me during our deli-

berations and I have been able to observe him carefully."

Butler reflected at length on the committee sessions in a message he taped for Virginia radio stations.

The congressman, the only Virginia member on the panel, described the closed-door sessions as "interesting but distasteful."

"Coats are coming off now, coffee is available in the staff

offices at either end of the committee room, but the atmosphere is one of concentration and attention," he said. "Although it is a tiring process, very few heads nod."

St. Clair, whom the committee invited to attend the closed sessions but not to participate, received this evaluation by Butler: "He is a particularly attentive listener, prodigious note taker and a very efficient operator."

"For example," Butler continued, "When we were given a preliminary briefing of background information on the chain of command within the White House staff, Mr. St. Clair, being familiar with that, proceeded to read the other evidence in the volumes before him, taking extensive notes. But I noticed that any interruptions or questionings caught his immediate and full attention."

In a somewhat rambling fashion, Butler explained the way in which evidence is being presented by the committee and its furnishings, praised the quality of electronic gear used to listen to Watergate tapes, and gave an almost hour-by-hour account of the committee's routine.

But he stayed away from mentioning the contents of the report the committee is receiving, noting that he

planned to abide by the panel's decision to keep the proceedings at this stage of the inquiry confidential.

"There are CIA reports and many other confidential items," Butler said. "Of course, if the committee recommends that the President be impeached the relevant evidence would certainly become part of the public record."



Rep. M. Caldwell Butler

Butler Says He Sways On Weight of Evidence

R-T-Fri
May 24, 1974

By JACK BETTS
Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler Thursday admitted that listening to presidential tape recordings in the Judiciary Committee's closed hearings leaves him with ambivalent views on the President's culpability in the Watergate coverup.

But Butler, in an interview with The Roanoke Times, declined to say whether the weight of the evidence presented so far was either in the President's favor or to his detriment.

The 6th District Republican, Virginia's only representative on the impeachment panel, was asked whether the recordings the committee has listened to

tended to exonerate or incriminate President Nixon.

Said Butler, "Well, the view changes from time to time."

Asked if those changes occurred daily, Butler said, "I just don't think I'd better comment on the substantive nature of the proceedings."

He said the committee would meet again Wednesday in closed session, to hear more evidence and on Thursday in open session to consider such items as a response to the President's failure to comply with a committee subpoena for 11 tapes.

"The staff is preparing an analysis of what the transcripts show and what the few tapes we have show. We're going to see what the counsel recom-

mends we do in this case. That's what we hired one for," Butler said.

Butler said that analysis should show, among other things, whether the committee needs more actual tape recordings in addition to the transcripts it has, adding that the staff analysis would delve into "the accuracy of the transcripts and the relevancy of the deletions."

In the meantime, he said, "we've got to go forward with what we have ... that's what the hearings are all about."

Butler, who has voted for all subpoenas issued by the committee, declined to speculate how the committee might vote on any response to the President's failure to supply the subpoenaed tapes.



Photo by Wayne Deel

Among old (and recent) graduates on hand for the Jefferson tea were, from left: First row—Edna Chesney '29, Gertrude R. Richardson '26, Frances Mason McCown '26, H. E. Sower Jr. '37, Daphne Dymond Sower '39, W. Albert Coulter '33, Mary

Frances Parsons '33, Ethel McPherson '35, Clark Humphreys '32, T. E. Jack Roberts '30, Virginia Mundy Cassell '33, Albert S. McCown '27, Ruth K. Moore '34. Second row—Virginia G. Noel '38, Garnia M. Dooley '42, Hugh E. Brown '49, Geraldine

E. Ludwick '49, Fred S. Hawks '41, Madelyn A. Hawks '43, Reva Byrd '44, Ruth Whittington Reed '41, Jeanne Hodges Coulter '42, Jack B. Coulter '41, Koiner Baker Ellett '46, J. Albert Ellett '42, Mrs. Amelia Peters '45, C. A. "Jack" Brizendine '42, James M. Martin

'48. Third row—Norma C. Murray '52, George D. Hemmins '57, Barbara Lawson Plunket '55, Margaret Tyree Caldwell '55, Charles W. Hancock '50, Helen C. Hancock '53, John R. Graybill '43, Louise B. Graybill '42, C. Lewis

Pitzer Jr. '41, Rosemary C. Stephens '59, Joyce E. Graybill '52. Fourth row—Pamela M. Moran '65, Buddy Conelin '68, Jim Munday '60, Ed "Mangum" Cole Jr. '65, William Dodd '73, June P. Locklear '72.

Jefferson alumni recount palmier days at tea

If you are looking for the "Media Center" at Jefferson High School, the thing to do is go around back and ask somebody where the old gymnasium is. You will then be directed through a brace of doors and onto the set of "Blackboard Jungle."

At least, that's what the rear entrance of Jefferson High looks like to somebody who never went there. The way is blocked by pseudo prison doors equipped with wire mesh glass, and beyond the steel doors are darkened stairwells—perfect ambush spots for lurking bands of '50s-style greaseballs bearing zip guns and switchblade knives.

The greasers are figments of a runaway imagination, however, and at seven o'clock on a Friday night the jungle is deserted except for a few well dressed loiterers who are rubbernecking down the halls on their way to the alumni "tea" which is being held in the Media Center, alias the old gymnasium.

Upon entering the room, one notices that the Media Center bears a startling resemblance to a library. There are bookshelves all around, and a balcony with more books, and a magazine rack across one wall, and there are tables scattered around where serious students can catch up on the latest doings of the media, or whatever it is that serious students do in a media center.

On this particular evening, the tables are occupied by ex-students. They are representatives of the school's history, gathered together to celebrate Jefferson's demise. Fifty years worth of senior proms and squeaking chalk and fights in the parking lot.

Like most teas, this one starts out pretty stiff, with everybody sitting around at their tables making polite small talk and checking out the newcomers. Also like most teas, there is not a cup of tea in sight. Instead, there is punch being served by fetching members of the senior class who are wearing big red roses and shy smiles.

They are standing primly beneath a banner stating, "The Way We Were," which is the theme of this get-together.

Backed up against the wall behind the punchbowl where he can keep an eye on things is the principal, Jack Graybill. He is wearing a fierce moustache and steel rimmed glasses. He was graduated from Jefferson several centuries ago along with Caldwell Butler and Jack Brizendine, and when things loosen up later in the evening they will all be standing together explaining how things used to be.

Back there in the '30s, Graybill will recall, Luck Avenue was known as the "Open Road For Boys," because when school let out, most of the male students at Jefferson would form a steady procession down Luck Avenue on their way to the poolroom.

Those were Roanoke's glory days, Brizendine will remember. That's when there were five poolrooms in downtown Roanoke . . . when you could ride the trolley to school for a nickel, if you had a nickel, which nobody ever did. Those were also the days when Salem Avenue was wide open, when a schoolkid could get a whole course in sex education just by walking down Salem Avenue on a Saturday afternoon.

"One of the proudest moments of my life was the day I could walk in the poolroom legally," Brizendine will recall. In those days, he will explain, you had to show proof that you were 16 to gain entrance to the poolroom.

In the meantime, though, the more formal teatime activities are moving inexorably along. There are the introductions of the class members and the yearbook staff and the old timers. And then a news photographer—class of '66—embarks on a truly herculean task—a formal portrait.

He has convinced himself that it is possible to herd all these people into some semblance of order, and he has also convinced himself that he can get all the names matched up with all the right people.

A reporter assigned to cover the festivities regards the photographer with undisguised horror. He knows it is impossible, but the photographer continues on with his crackpot master plan and the folks on hand seem willing to give it a try.

They move with surprising docility into loose ranks, waiting patiently as the cameraman directs the scenario from the balcony overhead where he can get the "big picture." He issues orders in a firm voice and the crowd shifts vaguely in response.



The pictures are finally snapped, just as a man in a gray suit wanders through the door and inserts himself unbidden into the group portrait. Several people express concern that the mysterious man in gray has botched up the works, but the reporter explains that it is humanly impossible to get

the names matched up with the faces anyhow, so it really doesn't make any difference.

The group portrait proves to be an ice-breaker, however, because the various class representatives have been forced into close proximity and are now talking and exchanging reminiscences and one thing and another. And Congressman Butler has finally arrived, an hour and a half late, and just about everybody wants to get a word with this distinguished graduate of the old school, so there is much milling around and laughter and it appears that the tea is a success, as teas go.

And gradually the teagoers filter out in small clots, down the back stairs and out the metal doors with the wire mesh glass and into the parking lot where, in their forma-

tive years, they experienced such diverse emotions as joy and terror.

It is a warm, steamy evening out there in the world beneath the spires and turrets of Jefferson High School, and very few of the teagoers seem inclined to hang around recalling the glories of the parking lot.

They are more intent on getting a drink, perhaps, or catching the 9 o'clock offering on television.

Anyway, it is just as well they do not hang around, because there is not a whole lot to be gained by standing around on a piece of asphalt, and if a person spends enough time there, he might even become a candidate for a mugging, which would be a terrible way to celebrate the demise of a high school.

Roanoke Valley News

Roanoke, Va., Monday, May 20, 1974

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ROKE TIMES

Cloudy

Showers Likely
High in 80s

Full Weather Report on Page 8

Friday, May 31, 1974

15 CENTS
DAILY

30 CENTS
SUNDAY

Nixon Stands Firm On Papers Control

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Nixon reasserted his right Thursday to decide whether papers subpoenaed for the criminal trial of former aides should be surrendered even if failure to do so means "that these cases must ultimately be dismissed."

And he cautioned the Supreme Court against a "rush to judgment" in hearing its first Watergate tapes case, asking the court instead to wait for a ruling by the U.S. Court of Appeals.

Even as the submission of papers to the two courts was taking place, the House Judiciary Committee voted 37 to 1 to issue yet another subpoena against the President, demanding tape recordings of 45 more Watergate conversations. The committee warned Nixon that it will consider his continued refusal to comply with the demands for evidence an indication the material is damaging and a ground for impeachment.

In a letter to U.S. District Judge Gerhard A. Gesell, James D. St. Clair, Nixon's lawyer, said the President will permit conspiracy defendants John D. Ehrlichman and Charles W. Colson and their lawyers access to much of the material they have subpoenaed for their trial.

Release of any documents that they deem relevant to their defense will then be weighed by Nixon "as to whether the documents should be produced," St. Clair wrote.

He added that "members of the special prosecutor's office will be provided access to all of such materials made available to the defendants and their counsel."

It left unclear as to whether this meant the prosecutors will be allowed to see everything requested or just those items that Nixon grants to Colson and Ehrlichman for use in court.

Last Friday, Gesell demanded a letter that Nixon understands his refusal to supply the subpoenaed material might lead to dismissal. Gesell said that any arrangement which did not give equal access to the prosecutors would not be acceptable.

Asked about this, a spokesman for St. Clair would not clarify the intent and

said "they have decided to stand on the contents of the letter."

St. Clair and the prosecutors are due in Gesell's court Monday for a hearing in the matter. The White House lawyer said at a news conference "I hope I can persuade him that the dismissals are not necessary."

Ehrlichman and Colson, both former top Nixon aides, are charged with conspiracy to violate the civil rights of Dr. Lewis Fielding, the psychiatrist who had treated Pentagon Papers figure Daniel Ellsberg. Their trial, along with three others similarly charged, is scheduled to begin June 17.

St. Clair's letter said one item in Colson's subpoena, a damage assessment drawn up by the government following Ellsberg's 1971 leak of the Pentagon Papers, "cannot be made public without substantial risk to the security of the United States."

He said security would be risked

also by release of some other documents.

The damage assessment, St. Clair said, can be turned over to Gesell for private inspection on a condition. If the judge finds it relevant to the trial the decision of whether "it shall be declassified shall remain one for the chief executive and will not be assumed by the court."

Gesell had threatened to dismiss the case if the defendants are not given the "discovery" of material in the hands of the government that they can use for their defense.

"The President is not desirous of having these, or in fact, any indictments of former governmental officials dismissed without a full and fair trial," St. Clair wrote.

"But he must implement the constitutional responsibilities of his office by not jeopardizing the national security even if it means that the court determines that these cases must ultimately be dismissed."

Daniel Discounts Effect of Cruise

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Virginia Rep. W. C. "Dan" Daniel said Thursday his impeachment "objectivity" was unaffected by his Wednesday night dinner cruise with President Nixon and 10 other congressmen.

Daniel said the cruise on the presidential yacht Sequoia was "primarily a social function." The congressmen, conservative Republicans and Democrats described by the White House as a "group of friends" of Nixon, cruised for two hours and dined on fettuccine, green vegetables, sirloin tips and vanilla ice cream with strawberries.

Daniel, a Danville Democrat, said he had no qualms, "none whatsoever," that his objectivity might be eroded, or even seem to be diminished, by the presidential favors.

"As I told Ralph Nader's people (when they criticized him for accepting flights on corporate aircraft), I'll fly in

anybody's plane that has a good pilot," Daniel said in an interview.

He was asked if anyone might compare the presidential yachting by the congressmen, who must decide whether or not the President should be impeached, to jurors who accept an invitation from a person being investigated for possible indictment.

Daniel answered that he and Nixon are friends of long standing.

"I've been invited to the White House about every two months since I've been up here," said Daniel, now in his 6th year in Congress. He said he met Nixon in 1957 when Daniel was appointed by President Eisenhower to an international "people-to-people" committee, on which Nixon, then vice president, served as Eisenhower's representative.

This was Daniel's second cruise aboard the Sequoia, an event which is marked by a presidential certificate, suitable for framing, with a rendering of the yacht.

Butler Votes For Notice

From Page 1

materials and whether your refusals in and of themselves might constitute a ground for impeachment."

Butler said later he originally had intended to vote against a letter censuring the President for noncompliance, but as he did in early May, Butler said he changed his mind after Chief Counsel John Doar told the committee he favored the response.

"I was pretty much on the fence," Butler said. "The other letter was useless, but I was persuaded by the argument that we are putting the President on notice."

He said one reason he felt he could vote for the letter was that since the committee is gathering evidence and not actually trying the President, "accusations can be based on inferences coupled with facts ... it is only when the facts lead us to a position that the President could clarify, but won't, that we would indulge in this opportunity."

Butler said the letter did not strictly mean that committee members would take the position that President Nixon is hiding something.

"We're just saying, 'you run the risk of us thinking that,'" Butler said.

The 6th District freshman, who comes up for renomination before the district GOP convention next Saturday, said the President "can always reverse his position on this, and I imagine his lawyers have so advised him. I certainly hope he'll reconsider."

On other votes during the day, Butler voted against proposals to:

—Approve legislation giving federal courts the authority to enforce House Judiciary Committee subpoenas.

—Direct the committee counsel to file a friend of the court brief with the Supreme Court in the Watergate special prosecutors' bid there to obtain more White House materials.

—Place on the committee agenda consideration of an article of impeachment charging the President with contempt and obstruction of the constitutional process.

—Summon the President before the House of Representatives to show why he should not be held in contempt of the House.

Butler Votes To Put Nixon on Notice

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., Thursday joined a 28-10 Judiciary Committee majority in advising the President his failure to surrender subpoenaed material may in itself constitute an impeachable offense.

And, in an open session marked by numerous roll call votes, the Roanoke Republican voted for the third time in recent weeks to subpoena more White House conversations.

The committee approved the latest subpoena, for 46 White House recordings between Nov. 15, 1972 and June 4, 1973, on a 37-1 vote. That was identical to another vote two weeks ago when Butler joined most of his colleagues in a subpoena for 11 conversations.

Last month, Butler voted for the

first of the subpoenas for 42 White House recordings, which resulted in the President's publication of some 1,300 pages of presidential transcripts. Since then, he has refused to turn over more material to the committee.

That refusal led to committee approval Thursday of a letter informing the chief executive that he was risking the committee's wrath in refusing to surrender materials.

The letter, drafted by Rep. Don Edwards, D-Calif., informs the President, "under the Constitution, it is not within the power of the President to conduct an inquiry into his own impeachment, to determine which evidence, and what version or portion of that evidence, is relevant and necessary to such an inquiry. These are matters which, under

the Constitution, the House has the sole power to determine.

"In meeting their constitutional responsibility, committee members will be free to consider whether your refusals warrant the drawing of adverse inferences concerning the substance of the

See Page 8, Col. 3

House panel subpoenas more tapes

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House Judiciary Committee has subpoenaed tapes of 45 more presidential conversations despite President Nixon's insistence he will turn over no more Watergate material.

Along with the subpoena, approved by a 37 to 1 vote Thursday, the committee sent Nixon a letter saying his refusal to comply could itself provide grounds for impeachment.

It rejected two attempts to deal more harshly with the President, however. A motion

to seek an immediate impeachment vote for contempt of Congress was tabled, 29-9. One to recommend citation for contempt but delay House action until later was tabled 27-11.

The committee also rejected, 23 to 15, an effort to open some of the impeachment hearings to the public next week. The vote is expected to keep the hearings closed at least two weeks longer.

Issuance of the committee's fourth subpoena against Nixon with only one dissenting vote — cast by proxy for an

absent member — demonstrated the bipartisan opposition in the committee to the White House strategy for fighting impeachment.

"He's stonewalling," said Rep. Thomas F. Railsback, R-Ill., borrowing a term made popular by the White House transcripts.

Rep. Robert McClory, R-Ill., noting that among the things the committee is investigating are allegations Nixon obstructed the Justice Department, the Senate Watergate committee and the special prosecutor in their inquiries,

said:

"His current conduct does not make it easier for this member to conclude that such allegations are without merit."

Railsback and McClory were among eight Republicans who joined in directing Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., D-N.J., to send the letter to Nixon. The letter warned that a continued refusal to honor committee subpoenas will permit members to conclude he is withholding damaging evidence.

Nixon had released edited

transcripts instead of tapes on that occasion. He refused to supply anything in response to two subpoenas issued May 15 for Watergate tapes and White House logs and said he would reject future subpoenas for Watergate material.

The new subpoena calls for delivery by June 10 of Watergate tapes originally requested April 19. Most of them also have been subpoenaed by special prosecutor Leon Jaworski, who has asked the Supreme Court to rule on his right to them.

The 45 tapes were made

between Nov. 15, 1972, and June 4, 1973. Most involve conversations between Nixon and former aides H. R. Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman, Charles W. Colson and John W. Dean III. Included were two conversations, lasting a total of more than 6½ hours, between the President and Haldeman on April 26, 1973.

Nixon stands fast in 'plumbers' case

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Nixon has chosen to risk the dismissal of criminal charges against two former top assistants rather than turn over evidence for their defense in the White House plumbers case.

Although slightly easing rules on access to White House evidence, the President

restated Thursday his determination to remain the final arbiter of what evidence is released to a federal court.

In the plumbers case, former presidential aides John D. Ehrlichman and Charles W. Colson and three others are accused of violating the civil rights of Dr. Lewis Fielding, Daniel Ellsberg's

psychiatrist at the time the former Pentagon analyst leaked the Pentagon papers to the press.

Fielding's office was burglarized in 1971 in an attempt by the White House plumbers group to turn up information about Ellsberg.

U.S. District Judge Gerhard Gesell, scheduled to begin the plumbers trial June 17, had ordered presidential lawyer James D. St. Clair to provide writing assurances that

Charles McDowell

Caldwell Butler On Impeachment

WASHINGTON — It is a Nixon Republican's office. A color portrait of the President hangs on the wall of the anteroom with three cheerful photographs of the President and the congressman together.

The congressman, M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia, has spent the day in the Judiciary Committee. He cast a significant vote there. He and seven others of the 17 Republicans on the committee joined all but one of the 21 Democrats in voting to warn the President by formal letter that his refusal to comply with subpoenas for Watergate-related tapes "might constitute a ground for impeachment."

Now, late in the afternoon, Butler passes through the anteroom into his inner office, removes his jacket and sits down heavily behind this desk. The impeachment inquiry is taking more and more of his time and energy.

"It's like getting caught in a whirlpool," he tells a visitor. "It just takes over your life. You can't listen to it all day and then turn it off. It's overwhelming. It colors everything you do."



McDowell

The committee has been meeting three times a week from 9 a.m. until 4:30 or 5 or 6 p.m. The members spend hours with big earphones clamped on their heads, listening to White House tapes acquired from the courts and the special prosecutor. They also spend hours listening to the presentation of evidence by the committee counsel, with special attention to questions whose answers might be on the tapes the President refuses to deliver.

The members are painfully careful and often contentious about procedure. They argue on and on over the interpretation of a memorandum, the phrasing of a subpoena. All 38 members of the Judiciary Committee are lawyers.

After the long, tense days in the committee room, there are briefs and other documents to bring back to the office and take home at night. Butler smiles and says, "It makes you feel like you're earning your pay."

IS THE FRESHMAN CONGRESSMAN from Roanoke constantly aware of history hovering at his shoulder in all this? Of course he is, and he is constantly trying not to be pompous about it.

"I don't feel they're saving a little niche over there at the Capitol for Thomas Jefferson, Woodrow Wilson and Caldwell Butler," he says.

"But it can be a little frightening to realize that about 10 of us, maybe as few as six, are the swing votes that could decide how this thing goes."

When Butler came to the House of Representatives from Virginia's 6th District in 1972, he was frankly disappointed to be assigned to the Judiciary Committee. He wanted to be on Commerce, which deals with a wide range of subjects. Judiciary sounded legalistic and dreary.

And then came the impeachment inquiry. In the beginning, the conservative Butler was alarmed by the large number of liberal Democrats on the committee. He thought he was in a hotbed of

Continued on Page 7, Col. 1

Charles McDowell

Caldwell Butler On Impeachment

Continued From First Page

"crazies." He was skeptical of the intellectual depth and objectivity of the chairman, Peter Rodino of New Jersey.

Now Butler's assessment is that both sides have a handful of predictable partisans but the central majority is reasonable and open-minded. He praises Rodino for fairness and wise restraint in conducting the inquiry.

"Mutual respect is growing," he says. "People are listening to each other. I believe the destiny of the President is in good hands."

BUTLER SAYS THE WHITE HOUSE TAPES he has heard are much more informative than the transcripts of the same conversations.

"There are degrees of emphasis, domination and control of a conversation that you just have to hear," he says. "It is perfectly apparent to me, for instance, that the President is in control of the conversations and directs their course. And he does not necessarily come off worse in the tapes themselves than in the transcripts. Overall, in fact, I'd say he sounds more like people would expect a president to sound."

When asked what impressions of H.R. Haldeman, John D. Ehrlichman and John W. Dean III he received from the tapes, Butler says, "The President is the only one of that group who has a personality."

Then he says rather grimly that he does not want to talk about Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Dean any more.

Butler's basic outlook on the impeachment inquiry has changed since the committee issued its first subpoena for White House tapes. The edited transcripts did not satisfy Butler or most of his colleagues. The President's continuing refusal to cooperate melted Butler's patience and his hope for a clear-cut end to the inquiry.

"I thought we would get the facts," he says, "and then our job would be the determination of a legal conclusion — do the known facts constitute impeachable misconduct?"

"But now the White House has frustrated us in this, and knowingly so. Now we have to consider whether we're going to infer from noncompliance that the information is adverse to the President... and when we can't find out the facts, we are entitled to assume they are adverse."

"You can't impeach a President on inference, but inference coupled with known facts, well, we can pass it on to the Senate for trial under all the safeguards of a trial."

If President Nixon and his lawyer, James D. St. Clair, are embarked on some grand strategy of delay, Butler suspects it might backfire.

"I'm not at all sure their failure to respond doesn't actually accelerate the impeachment process," he says.

"Withholding the tapes seems so ill-advised to me that... well, I hasten to say that Mr. St. Clair has made a lot more money practicing law than I have and I guess these tactics could be right."

"But my own impression is simply that the President is prejudicing his own case by not cooperating with the committee, that's all."

THE ROANOKE TIMES

Partly Sunny

High in 80s

Low in 60s

Full Weather Report on Page A-4

15 CENTS
DAILY

30 CENTS
SUNDAY

Vol. 175, No. 159

Roanoke, Virginia, Sunday, June 9, 1974



Times Photo By Oakie Asbury



Times Photo By Bob Phillips

Butler Supporters Boom Their Choice While Victor Paul Puckett Addresses Democrats
Republicans Met at Natural Bridge As Opponents Convened in Roanoke

6th District Democrats Nominate Puckett

By MELVILLE CARICO
Times Political Writer
Roanoke Sheriff Paul J. Puckett, the "establishment's" candidate, won the Democratic nomination for Congress in the 6th District on the third ballot in a four-hour long convention Saturday at Hotel Roanoke.

"It shows an American dream can become a reality," Puckett said in promising the Democrats everything he has in a campaign to beat Rep. M. Caldwell Butler who was

nominated for a second term a few hours earlier at a Republican convention at Natural Bridge.

He said integrity in government will be an issue.

"With your help we can win, we can restore confidence in government," Puckett told the convention in a short acceptance speech at the end of three tense roll calls.

With 163 votes needed to win Puckett was taken down to the wire by youthful Thom-

as J. Nolan, a social worker for the Roman Catholic church in Roanoke, who was squeezed out 176 to 142.

Prof. James A. Hooven, a member of the faculty at Virginia Western Community College in Roanoke who was Henry Howell's campaign coordinator in the 6th District last year, dropped out after the second ballot.

Hooven got only 53 votes on the first ballot; 55 on the second—one of the surprises in

the convention that held its secrets until the 11th hour.

It had been a three-way scrap from the outset between Puckett, Nolan and Hooven who worked the mass meetings at which the convention delegates were elected.

But there were two favorite son nominations to start the first roll call with five candidates.

Frank W. Nolen, 34 year-old chairman of the Augusta County Board of Supervisors, got 49 votes from his

area and dropped out after the first roll call.

Commonwealth's Attorney "Shad" Solomon of Bath County got 11 votes on the first ballot; 18 on the second and was automatically dropped under convention rules.

The convention headed into the third ballot with Puckett needing a switch of 21 which he did not put together

See Page A-12, Col. 1

Delays Loom In Schedule On Watergate

WASHINGTON (AP) — The chances are growing increasingly slim that the Watergate timetables established by federal judges and congressional leaders are going to be met.

Both major Watergate trials now are threatened with long delays. And the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment inquiry, already behind schedule, hasn't yet settled the issue of calling witnesses.

Not yet confronted is the growing possibility that the trials and the impeachment process could conflict, forcing a postponement in one or the other.

Here is how the situation has developed: U.S. District Judge Gerhard A. Gesell told White House lawyers on Friday he is considering issuing a contempt citation as a result of President Nixon's refusal to let a defense lawyer accompany his client on an examination of White House files. The conflict between Gesell and the President could delay the start of the Plumbers trial now scheduled for June 17.

Gesell said recently that if the trial doesn't get under way on schedule it could be delayed as much as a year.

—The Supreme Court has agreed to hear arguments on July 8 on whether President Nixon has a right to withhold material subpoenaed as evidence in the cover-up trial, scheduled to start Sept. 9. A court decision could take weeks, possibly coming around Aug. 1. Further delays could postpone the trial.

—Only two months ago, congressional leaders were saying the House Judiciary Committee might report its findings early in June. But committee chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., D-N.J., talks now about the end of July. And still unresolved are demands from the Republican minority to call witnesses.

There had been concern about the possible effect of leaks from the Judiciary Committee on the court cases. But it has been the reverse so far. It was a leak from the court — news that the grand jury had named the President an unindicted co-conspirator — that could

Watergate At A Glance

In Watergate developments Saturday:

—Vice President Gerald R. Ford said in Logan, Utah, he continues to speak out on Watergate because it is his duty to try and help find a compromise on the issue. Details on Page A-9.

—Some of the Republicans who lost special congressional elections this year and are trying again in the fall say they will stay independent of the White House this time.

—Rep. William L. Hungate, D-Mo., said here Saturday that impeachment "becomes more likely every day."—Page B-1

influence dramatically the deliberations of the Judiciary Committee.

If the Judiciary Committee reports a bill of impeachment, something even the White House concedes is a strong possibility, there would follow a highly publicized debate in the House. Defendants in the coverup trial would probably claim some of the evidence would prejudice potential jurors against them.

The publicity could force an order to postpone the trial.

More likely to force a postponement would be a Supreme Court decision which upheld the subpoena but permitted the President's lawyers to claim that some of the material was not relevant.

But probably the greatest potential for delay would be any move to call President Nixon as a witness. That was made more likely by the disclosure that he had been named an unindicted co-conspirator. It also almost certainly would be resisted by Nixon.

Democrats Pick Puckett

From Page A-1

until he picked up 7 in his Roanoke delegation. But he had to go through the Salem delegation, second from the bottom, before reaching the 163 needed to win the nomination.

It was so close many delegates in the packed hotel exhibition hall did not realize Puckett had won until the official tally was announced by Convention chairman Clifton A. Woodrum III, Roanoke.

Puckett had the support of a big bloc of the old timers in the party but his winning edge margin came from some organized labor support plus help of influential blacks.

Puckett's name was placed in nomination by W. T. Watkins, Roanoke businessman, but his black help came from George W. Harris Jr., a Roanoke lawyer, who pointed to Puckett's reforms at the City Hall.

"He went into a pure pig pen and made the inmates of the jail feel they are human beings," Harris told the convention in seconding the sheriff's nomination.

Democrats hoisted the battle flag against the Nixon Administration and the support its speakers claimed Butler has given the White House.

Before the balloting started Del. Donald G. Pendleton of Amherst County in the convention keynote speech called for support of the winner "so we won't have somebody in Washington helping Mr. Nixon but somebody helping the American people."

Pendleton, who figured in the speculation over potential candidates for the nomination up until two weeks before the convention, said Democrats must join hands in campaigns this fall "to put morality back in government."

Alleghany
Amherst
Augusta
Bath
Bedford
Botetourt
Highland
Roanoke
Rockbridge

Solomon
0-0-0
P-3-X
0-3-X
5-5-X
0-0-X
1-0-X
2-2-X
0-0-1
0-0-X

F. Nolen
0-X
P-X
2-3-X
0-X
0-X
0-X
0-X
0-X
0-X

Hooven
6-6-X
0-0-X
0-2-X
0-0-X
2-2-X
4-4-X
0-0-X
17-15-X
0-0-X

T. Nolan
1-1-2
P-5-5
0-5-8
0-0-0
0-0-2
2-2-3
0-0-0
18-17-22
10-10-10

Puckett
4-4-9
P-13-13
0-13-15
0-0-5
7-7-7
6-7-10
0-0-2
24-27-34
0-0-0

County Roll Call

City Roll Call

Bedford
Buena Vista
Clifton Forge
Covington
Lexington
Lynchburg
Roanoke
Salem
Staunton
Waynesboro

0-0-X
2-2-X
0-0-X
0-0-X
0-0-X
1-0-X
0-0-X
0-0-X
0-0-X
0-6-X

0-X
0-X
0-X
0-X
0-X
0-X
0-X
0-X
13-X
13-X

2-2-X
0-0-X
0-0-X
0-0-X
0-0-X
6-6-X
11-10-X
5-5-X
0-3-X
0-1-X

3-3-5
1-1-1
2-3-3
0-0-0
5-5-5
12-12-16
28-28-36
3-3-6
0-6-8
0-5-9

0-0-0
1-1-3
4-3-3
9-9-9
0-0-0
17-18-19
27-28-29
9-9-10
0-2-5
0-1-3

Totals

11-18-1

49-X

53-55-X

85-106-141

108-142-176

Need To Win 163

P—Passed

X—Withdrew at end of preceeding roll call

"There are some things that regardless of who you are—even the President of the United States—that is against the law," Pendleton told the applauding convention.

The convention adopted a strongly anti-Nixon resolution drafted by the convention resolutions committee headed by Mrs. Joan Jones, member of the Virginia House of Delegates from Lynchburg.

It deplored what it called the "lack of political morality" in Washington and the criminal conduct of "certain national officials." The resolution ended by calling for "renewed integrity and morality in government."

The losing candidates joined in promising to do everything they can for Puckett in the coming campaign and Hooven backed this up with a \$50 check on the spot.

Puckett, who began his career as a state trooper stationed in Roanoke, called himself "a country boy from Russell County." He has been in the stock brokerage business and is a former member of city council in Roanoke.

Nolan, a newcomer to politics in Virginia, provided the surprise—the convention with its big strength he put together from scratch.

He was put in nomination

by Edward Mahoney, a General Electric marketing specialist, who lost the Democratic nomination to Willis M. Anderson in the 1972 convention at Staunton. It was seconded by Dean John P. Wheeler of Hollins College, who was the Democrat candidate for Congress in 1962, losing to now Supreme Court Justice Richard H. Poff.

Hooven's name was placed in nomination by Dan Wine-man who like Hooven teaches at Virginia Western. It was seconded by the Rev. Carroll Brooke, an Episcopal rector. Onlookers included State Democratic Party Chairman Joseph T. Fitzpatrick.

THE ROANOKE TIMES

Virginia

Sunday, June 9, 1974

Butler Proclaims Nixon Loyalty Without Condoning Watergate

By DONNA SHOEMAKER
Times Staff Writer

NATURAL BRIDGE—At the 6th District Republican convention here, during which the topic of Watergate was as noticable and welcome as an elephant in a china shop, Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke was unanimously nominated for a second term in Congress.

In accepting the nomination, which was unopposed, Butler said: "I cannot hide my disappointment at the failure of the President to accept the challenges of the Watergate disclosures by a prompt release of required information and total cooperation in all prosecution."

He added that "my loyalty to the President does not require me to condone this action; but you may be assured it does not color my judgment of the substantive determination we are called upon to make."

Butler's former law partner, ex-Gov. Linwood Holton, delivered the keynote speech, saying that it was not true that Watergate is absorbing everybody's attention; saying instead that the Nixon Administration is an active and a strong one.

Holton, referring to Butler's position on the House Judiciary Committee which is looking into the impeachment of the President, said Butler is a man who "would protect the individual President from the vagueries of gossip."

During the convention, William B. Poff of Roanoke was re-elected chairman of the district unanimously and without opposition. In nominating Poff, Carl Wonderly of Augusta County jokingly said that Poff had promised "to make available whatever tapes you require and to keep the expletives down to a minimum."

Del. A. R. "Pete" Giesen of Staunton, in nominating Butler, called him "a man who has the wisdom to ask the right questions." The convention passed resolutions commending Gov. Mills Godwin, Lt. Gov. John



Times Photos by Oakie Asbury

Rep. Caldwell Butler Accepts Nomination

Dalton, Holton and Butler for their service, but none was passed in support of President Nixon.

Harold Wingate of Botetourt County, chairman of the resolutions committee, told a reporter that with Butler's position on the Judiciary committee, that to have passed a resolution commending the President "would have been highly improper lest it appear we were trying to influence his decision."

Wingate said no resolution concerning the President had been received by the resolutions committee, adding that he did not think the absence of one meant the convention in its entirety did not support the President. "I think there are mixed feelings on that," he said.

The 161 delegates passed a resolution

honoring the memory of J. Thomas Engleby, former Roanoke County Board of Supervisors member who died April 26. The Republicans expressed great sorrow at his untimely death, and said he had served with vigor, dignity and great honor.

Butler's nomination, which came as a surprise to no one during the convention that for the most part was predetermined, was greeted with subdued cheering from the delegates.

Seconding speeches were delivered by Odessa Bryant of Amherst County, Art Whitaker of Roanoke County, and Donald Johnson of Rockbridge County.

Butler referred to the Judiciary Committee's impeachment inquiry as a "distasteful

and difficult job," and said that when he arrived in Congress, the committee assignment had not been his preferred one.

Then Butler added, "But Richard Poff assured me that it would be a pleasant and safe place in which to learn the job."

Holton's keynote speech focused on areas in which the Nixon Administration had been making progress, and what it was like to work with Kissinger.

Referring to the German-born Kissinger's and presidential ambitions, Holton said the two of them were discussing who might run in 1976, and Kissinger ruled out each possible candidate as having "some insupportable handicap."

Holton continued, "it became apparent to me that the conclusion Dr. Kissinger was reaching was that there was only one possibility. So I told him, 'Henry, you go on upstairs and practice your accent and I'll go back to the Capitol to start to working on the constitutional amendment.'" (A foreign-born person is not constitutionally eligible to be president.)

The former governor said Republicans might lose some elections in November because they "might shy away from the race because of Watergate."

Butler, who was first elected to Congress two years ago, told the convention delegates that "two years ago I campaigned as a member of the Nixon team and I offer no apologies for that," a statement that was greeted with applause.

He added that he "was proud of the support I am continuing to give him in the cause of world peace."

One unpredicted moment at the convention came when credentials committee chairman Tommy Haymaker of Bath County criticized two local Republican committees for charging a \$10 fee for delegates instead of keeping it under \$5. Haymaker said he felt it could set a bad precedent by preventing people from being delegates if the fee became too high. He did not identify the committees.



Linwood Holton Speaks

AGENDA
SIXTH DISTRICT REPUBLICAN CONVENTION
SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1974, AT 10 A.M.

Pre-Convention Music by Natural Bridge High School Band

- 1) Call to Order -- William B. Poff, Chairman
- 2) Invocation -- Dr. Noel Taylor, High Street Baptist Church, Roanoke
Member of Roanoke City Council and Vice Mayor-Elect
- 3) Pledge of Allegiance -- Thomas Mills, Troop 411, Roanoke County
- 4) National Anthem -- Natural Bridge High School Band
- 5) Reading of the Call
- 6) Election of Temporary Chairman and Temporary Secretary
- 7) Appointment of Committees
- 8) Announcements

Entertainment by the Rainedrops of Lynchburg

- 9) Introduction of Lt. Gov. John N. Dalton
- 10) Keynote Speech -- The Hon. Linwood Holton
- 11) Reports of Committees
- 12) Election of Sixth District Republican Chairman
- 13) Remarks of Chairman
- 14) Election of Republican Nominee for Congress
- 15) Acceptance Speech by Nominee
- 16) Other Business
- 17) Adjournment Sine Die

R-T - June 4, '74

1,000 Attend Sessions on Aging

By ROBERT B. SEARS
Times Staff Writer

Four "informational" meetings for older citizens Monday sponsored by Rep. M. Caldwell Butler attracted about 1,000 persons, Butler estimated late Monday afternoon.

Butler, Virginia's 6th District congressman, said he was pleased with the response. The audiences sought information; they were not hostile, Butler said, and he believed they found the sessions helpful.

Some 20,000 invitations were sent to older citizens in the Roanoke Valley. Other meetings are planned in other parts of Butler's district.

Butler presided at the Monday meetings: Morning sessions at Melrose Towers and Second Presbyterian Church; afternoon sessions at Vinton Senior Citizens Center and

Roanoke College.

"Aging is the process by which you move from one day to the next," Butler told the Second Presbyterian audience. "If you are living, you are aging."

Butler said he gets a lot of questions on matters affecting older people, and doesn't always know the answer. Two alternatives are open, he said: "You either try to bluff your way through it, or you get an expert to help you."

The experts at the Second Presbyterian meeting were Maud Powers of the Roanoke Welfare Department; Isaac Joseph of the Civil Service Commission, Washington; Hugh Tankersley, district manager of the Railroad Retirement Board; Thomas Boyer of the Veterans Administration Regional Of-

fice; Joel Barr, associate director of the League of Older Americans in the 5th Planning District; Robert Cunningham of the Roanoke Social Security Administration office; and Susan Aheron of Butler's office, who reviewed pending legislation affecting the elderly.

Each of the speakers addressed the meeting, then answered questions from the audience, and afterward conferred individually with members of the audience.

Tankersley told the meeting that every cent contributed by a railroad worker to the Railroad Retirement System is paid back to the worker after he retires, or to the worker's estate.

And Tankersley said that beginning July 1 this year, a railroad worker with 30 years of service can retire with a full annuity at age 60.

Boyer said that a veteran's service record papers are extremely important with respect to any benefits he may be entitled to, and asked veterans to tell their families where their papers are.

Under Virginia law such

papers can be recorded by the clerk of a court, and Boyer urged veterans to do this.

Boyer explained the difference between veterans' compensation and a pension.

Compensation is paid for a service-connected disability, he said, while pensions are paid to veterans totally and permanently disabled, when the disability is not connected with military service. The amount of the pension depends upon the amount of the veteran's income.

Barr said the League of Older Americans is a private, nonprofit organization that develops and operates service programs for the elderly in the 5th Planning District.

League policy, he said, is set by a board of 27 directors, 15 of whom are 60 or older.

Barr said the league sponsors seven multipurpose service centers for citizens 60 and over with recreation and craft programs and information and referral services.

The League's Foster Grandparent program, he said, provides paid employment to about 60 older citizens who work at day care centers for

children four hours a day, five days a week.

The league's Meals-on-Wheels program is providing meals for 10 people in Clifton Forge, 13 in Covington, and 13 in Roanoke, Barr said.

Harold Griffin, who will be and is 74 Aug. 5 this year and is a former Pullman car conductor, said he thought it was unfair that he had to retire from a job he held after he left railroad employment before he could qualify for the Railroad Retirement Board annuity.

Griffin left his railroad job in 1962, went to work for Holiday Inns. When he asked for his Railroad Retirement Board annuity in 1972, while he was still working for Holiday Inns, he was advised that he would have to quit the Holiday Inn job before he could qualify.

Tankersley said this provision of the law is a source of much dissatisfaction, but it remains part of the law.

"I'm still hale and hearty and I can't get a job," Griffin said. "When I tell them I'm 74, they just brush me off."

Committee post boosts Butler's status

WN - June 4, 1974

By OZZIE OSBORNE
Political Writer

Rep. Caldwell Butler seems determined not to let his vastly increased visibility as a member of the House Judiciary Committee go to his head.

"General Custer was in a historic spot, too," he said when asked how it was to be in on the impeachment proceedings.

And he told columnist Charles McDowell of The Richmond Times-Dispatch that he doesn't feel "they're saving a little niche over there at the Capitol for Thomas Jefferson, Woodrow Wilson and Caldwell Butler."

Still, he is fast becoming the best known of Virginia's 10 House members mainly, of course, because of the impeachment inquiry being handled by the Judiciary Committee.

Oddly, Butler did not want to be on the Judiciary Committee, which he describes as being made up of "38 Clarence Darrows."

He preferred assignment to the Commerce Committee, which is where he thought the action would be.

Being named to the Judiciary Committee, says Butler, "was not in recognition of my unique ability."

In any event, now that he is

there he is finding it highly demanding.

The committee meets when its staff has something for it to consider, which usually means meetings lasting several hours three or four times a week.

"The only thing that saves us is the human endurance of the staff," says Butler. "Sometimes it just runs out of gas."

Essentially, the staff's job is, according to Butler, to cull out various known facts "and put them in the form that even a congressman can understand." The committee has already considered information from its staff on Watergate and will now turn to

the ITT deal, the milk deal and other matters that might bear on impeachment.

One thing that is impressing the 6th District congressman is the emerging nonpartisan spirit of the committee.

He was not too impressed over-all with the committee at first, saying he considered it as "having a couple of screwballs at either end."

Nor was he reassured by the time hearings ended on Gerald Ford when he was up for approval as vice president, saying he thought some committee members showed up as "being small in a political sense."

Now Butler praises the

committee chairman, Rep. Peter Rodino, for fairness and the committee in general for not engaging in partisan politics.

"I think both the public and the President are going to get a fair shake out of this," says Butler.

As for himself, Butler says he is now more than ever convinced he was right in his decision not to make a judgment until all the evidence is in.

"I certainly haven't formed an opinion," he says. "And I can truthfully say my original resolve to reserve judgment until all the evidence was in was sound."



Caldwell Butler

1,000 attend Butler sessions

About 1,000 persons attended four informational meetings for older citizens sponsored by Rep. M. Caldwell Butler.

Butler, Virginia's 6th District congressman, presided at the four meetings that

were held at Melrose Towers, Second Presbyterian Church, Vinton Senior Citizens Center, and Roanoke College. He said that he gets many questions on matters concerning the aged, and these meetings were held to bring the experts in contact with the public.

Two panels of spokesmen from six involved agencies attended the meetings.

Representatives at the Second Presbyterian and Roanoke College meetings included Maud Powers of the Roanoke Welfare Department; Isaac Joseph of the Civil Service Commission in Washington; Hugh Tankersley, district manager of the Railroad Retirement Board; Thomas Boyer of the Veterans Administration Regional Office; Joel Barr, associate director of the League of Older Americans in the 5th Planning District; and Robert Cunningham of the Roanoke Social Security Administration office.

Speakers at the other two locations were Paul Nixon of the Roanoke County Welfare Department at Melrose and Theodore C. McDonald at Vinton; LaRue Strieby of the Civil Service Commission in Washington; Joseph D. Pace of the Railroad Retirement Board; Gerald Hunter of the Veterans Administration Regional office; Ed Wood of the League of Older Americans

and Jewel Shiply of the Social Security Administration.

Each speaker addressed the audience, then answered questions. They were available after the meeting for individual conferences.

Boyer emphasized the importance of a veteran's service record papers in determining his eligibility for benefits and urged that veterans have these papers recorded by the clerk of a court, as is allowed by law. He also explained the difference between veteran's compensation and a pension. Compensation is paid for a service-connected disability, he said, while pensions are paid to veterans totally and permanently disabled, when the disability is not connected with military service.

Barr described the League of Older Americans as a private, nonprofit organization for developing and operating service programs for the elderly. League policy is set by

a 27-member board of directors, 15 of whom are over 60.

Meetings are planned for other areas of Butler's district. About 20,000 invitations were sent to the elderly in Roanoke Valley and Butler said he was pleased with the response.

THE ROANOKE TIMES

Tuesday, June 4, 1974

17

Butler Impressed By Mass of Data On Watergate

By GEORGE KEGLEY
Times Business Editor

Information collected for the House Judiciary Committee in the Watergate investigation is "the most complete pretrial presentation ever made—and that doesn't necessarily mean there will be a trial," said Sixth District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler Monday night.

It is "far better" to have the tapes of the presidential conversations than the transcripts because of the tone of the voices and the volume, said Butler, one of the 38 members of the Judiciary Committee.

Editorial changes and other "substantial differences" exist between the tapes and the transcripts, he told a quarterly meeting of the Virginia Bakers Council at Hotel Roanoke. The transcript is in chronological order "but conversations don't develop that way," he said.

Some of the language is "pretty earthy," said Butler, "but it's no worse than at a meeting of the board of directors of a bakery that is losing money."

"The guy who is running the show doesn't have to raise his voice," he said after hearing "nine or 10" hours of the tapes.

President Nixon, he said, made a mistake in not releasing all of the tapes.

"When he declines, we can infer that what he's withholding is adverse ... But in my judgment, that doesn't mean he can be impeached for withholding information."

But the burden on the House and the Judiciary Committee, he went on, is "not to determine the facts but to make a recommendation" to the Senate.

After the committee hears all of the material, it will decide which areas are cloudy "but if we have to go through

the whole charade again, it would be endless."

The committee probably will agree to limit its review to inquiry of certain points and questions will be submitted in writing and "not let those 38 Clarence Darrows" question witnesses. All committee members are lawyers.

Committee Chairman Peter Rodino has "grown with the job," Butler said. He's "eminently fair."

Rodino once paid undue attention to "the screwballs in the Democratic caucus ... the 'crazies,'" he said, but now he and the committee "share a concern for expeditiously handling" the investigation.

Progress of the committee, Butler said, depends on the physical stamina of the staff.

He said he can't think of "anything I've ever been involved in that was more significant and also more distasteful" than the Watergate case.

And he recalled that his predecessor, Richard Poff, told him a seat on the Judiciary Committee would be "safe ... Nothing ever happens there."

Butler, noting that he was comfortable with bakers because his wife's family has a bakery in Richmond, also talked about the grain supply and said the "official line of the Department of Agriculture is that there will not be a wheat shortage this year."

Bakers earlier protested that continuing high exports of what would cause shortages in this country this year.

But the Roanoke congressman said it now appears that a great deal of the wheat once listed as contracted for export was so reported in anticipation of government restrictions on export.

The Agriculture Department anticipates the new wheat harvest at 2.2 billion bushels, up from 1.7 billion last year, and export contracts now are listed at 1.2 billion, rather than 1.3 billion as listed in February.

The situation for the coming year appears to be "bright," Butler said.

But he expressed his belief that foreign agricultural sales represent "our major means of offsetting the payments we must make for imported oil."

16 on House Panel Given Dairy Funds

WASHINGTON (AP) — The nation's three largest dairyfarmer cooperatives made political donations of from \$100 to \$11,000 to at least 16 members of the House Judiciary Committee, which is investigating allegations that President Nixon was influenced by contributions from the same groups.

The recipients include committee chairman Peter W. Rodino, whose urban New Jersey district has no dairy farmers in it. An aide said Rodino didn't ask for the money, and said he could not explain why the cooperatives gave it to the congressman from Newark.

Two of the recipients gave back the money after The Associated Press questioned them about it. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., gave back \$100 he got last March, and Thomas Railsback, R-Ill., returned \$500 he received in 1972.

They said they acted to avoid any conflict of interest, but the other recipients said they see no conflict.

The committee is investigating allegations that the co-ops gave money to Nixon to raise milk price supports, impose dairy import quotas and divert the course of a Justice Department antitrust investigation.

Nixon received \$727,500 from the co-ops over three years, and had been promised \$2 million. The White House has said this money didn't influence Nixon's actions.

The three co-ops are Associated Milk Producers, Inc., Dairymen, Inc. and Mid-America Dairymen, Inc. Together they control about one-fourth of the nation's milk production.

According to public records going back to April 7, 1972, these committee members received money from one or more of the co-ops:

M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., \$1,000; William S. Cohen, R-Maine, \$3,000; John Conyers Jr., D-Mich., \$100; David W. Dennis, R-Ind., \$500; Walter Flowers, D-Ala., \$1,000; Harold W. Froehlich, R-Wis., \$100; William Hungate, D-Mo., \$2,300; Robert W. Kastenmeier, D-Wis., \$2,650; Trent Lott, R-Miss., \$2,500; Robert McClory, R-Ill., \$500; Edward Mezvinsky, D-Iowa, \$11,000; Wayne Owens, D-Utah, \$2,600; Railsback, \$500; Rangel, \$100; Rodino, \$4,100, and Jerome Waldie, D-Calif., \$200.

Kastenmeier, Hungate and Flowers were among 121 House sponsors of bills that would have raised the federal support price for milk in 1971. The White House has said these bills and similar measures in the Senate constituted a "gun to our head" that forced Nixon to raise prices himself in March 1971.

Dairy donations since April 7, 1972, to the members of the Judiciary Committee total \$32,150, including \$24,050 to nine Democrats and \$8,100 to seven Republicans. In the same period, Nixon received \$295,000 from the co-ops, including \$200,000 that filtered through established Republican committees about the time of the election.

Butler Admits Gift Taken

WASHINGTON (AP)—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., acknowledged Tuesday that he had received \$1,000 from dairy groups, but said the gift was handled in accordance with the spirit and letter of the law.

Butler, the lone Virginian on the House Judiciary Committee, also said he considered the contribution no more than an expression of an interest in his campaign from dairy concerns in his district.

Butler's comments came in response to an Associated Press report that at least 16 members of the judiciary panel had received contributions from the nation's three largest dairy farmer cooperatives.

Butler said in a statement from his office that he received the money in \$500 increments before early September and in late October or early November 1972 from SPACE, a group an aide identified as the political arm of Dairymen Inc.

"I recall meeting with the advisory committee of the Old Dominion Division of Dairymen Inc. in August 1972...at which the first check was delivered to me and which a member of my campaign staff deposited in my campaign committee account," Butler said.

"The second check came to us in late October or early November from Marion Harrison, an attorney and Republican friend of long standing, after a telephone conversation in which he explained that this money was coming from dairy interests which he represented."



M. Caldwell Butler

"My campaign committee has followed the spirit and letter of the law in every detail and promptly and properly reported these contributions."

"There are substantial dairy interests in our district and I considered these contributions as a legitimate expression of their interest in my campaign, which I appreciated, and I have no different view of it now."

It isn't known how much the dairy co-ops gave to Judiciary members before April 7, 1972, because those records are sealed and no longer available for public inspection. Nixon received \$442,500 before that time.

Mezvinsky, whose \$11,000 was the largest recorded total of any member of the committee, said he sees no conflict in voting on the milk money question. He referred The AP to a statement he made several weeks ago.

"I think the question of whether Congress is an ideal grand jury, an ideal jury, is irrelevant to the impeachment inquiry," he said.

"A case of this kind could probably be made that most Republicans aren't qualified because they received campaign contributions from the Republican party, whose standardbearer is being investigated. But the founding fathers didn't include a provision about picking and choosing who in the House should decide on impeachment. The Constitution said it's the job of the full House."

Hungate, who got \$2,300 after spon-

soring milk-price legislation, said, "If Mr. Nixon received and reported a legitimate campaign donation, as I did, he's in no trouble," he said. "If he sought and received a bribe, as I did not, he is in deep trouble."

Cohen said his \$3,000 donation was arranged to pay off a campaign debt by then-Rep. Gerald R. Ford, the House Republican leader. Cohen said he later was asked to co-sponsor a bill to raise the floor for milk price supports, but refused.

He said of the money, "I saw nothing wrong with it at the time, and if I had felt there was anything wrong I wouldn't have accepted it in the first place."

Flowers, who backed higher milk prices, said, "The question would be whether or not I was bribed, I guess, and I certainly was not The question of whether the President, or someone in his political organization made illegal promises, that's something I can consider independent of the fact I got a contribution from this outfit."

'A Very Tough Call'

House Panel Hears ITT Tape

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House Judiciary Committee heard a recording Tuesday of President Nixon ordering then Deputy Atty. Gen. Richard G. Kleindienst in "a very tough" telephone call to drop plans to appeal a court decision favorable to International Telephone & Telegraph Corp.

"It was a very tough call," said Rep. James R. Mann, D-S.C.

"It was a flat order to cut it out," said Rep. Hamilton Fish Jr., R-N.Y. "Poor Dick Kleindienst didn't get a word in edgewise."

The recording of the April 19, 1971, conversation was played during a closed committee session at which the panel began hearing evidence its impeachment staff has compiled on White House in-

volvement in the ITT antitrust settlement.

The committee's inquiry is focusing in part on whether the President was aware a year later that Kleindienst and former Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell would refuse to tell the Senate Judiciary Committee about White House involvement in the ITT settlement.

Kleindienst and Mitchell testified before the Senate committee in March 1972 at hearings on confirmation of Kleindienst to succeed Mitchell as attorney general. Most of the questioning focused on the ITT settlement and an allegation it was influenced by a \$200,000 pledge from an ITT subsidiary to help underwrite the cost of the Republican National Convention.

At his confirmation hearings, Kleindienst was asked if he had talked to anyone at the White House about the ITT case.

"Not that I can recall," he replied. "It is possible that some casual reference could have been made to it, but so far as discussing any policy or any aspect of the case, I did not and I do not discuss antitrust matters there."

Mitchell was asked if he had ever discussed the case with the President.

"Senator, the President has never talked to me about any antitrust case that was in the department," Mitchell replied. Mitchell had left the ITT case to Kleindienst because the attorney gener-

See Page 2, Col. 5

Experts Conclude Tape Manually Erased 5 Times

WASHINGTON (AP) — A panel of experts concluded, in a report released Tuesday, that an 18½-minute section of a White House tape recording was erased by someone operating the keyboard manually at least five times.

But, the panel said, its report "draws no inferences about such questions as whether the erasure and buzz were made accidentally or intentionally, or when, or by what person or persons."

It said "questions of who made the buzz, or when, or why, did not come within the scope of our investigation."

White House lawyer James D. St. Clair immediately took issue with the technical findings, saying the report "creates the false impression that all portions of the erasure were done manually and deliberately."

St. Clair and an expert hired independently by the White House objected to the panel's conclusion that a faulty power supply part could not have caused the erasure.

The section is in a recording of a conversation President Nixon had with then Chief of Staff H. R. Haldeman on June 20, 1972 — three days after the Watergate break-in. It was discovered last year when the White House prepared to

turn over subpoenaed tapes to U.S. District Judge John J. Sirica.

St. Clair had asked Stanford Research Institute to provide technical consultation to the panel, which was selected jointly by the White House and the special Watergate prosecutor, Dr. Michael H. L. Hecker, senior research engineer, presented the institute's review of the report:

"The substance of our disagreement is that the panel finally and irrevocably dismissed the possibility that a faulty machine was involved in producing the erasure. We believe that the Uher 5000 tape recorder ... was electronically faulty at the time when the erasure was produced."

The panel presented the same conclusions as in a preliminary report on Jan. 15 but backed them with extensive technical data in a document an inch thick.

It said it was certain that the recorder, used by President Nixon's secretary Rose Mary Woods in transcribing the June 20 tape, was probably the machine on which the erasure occurred.

Miss Woods had testified she accidentally pushed the record-erase button, at the same time keeping her foot on a

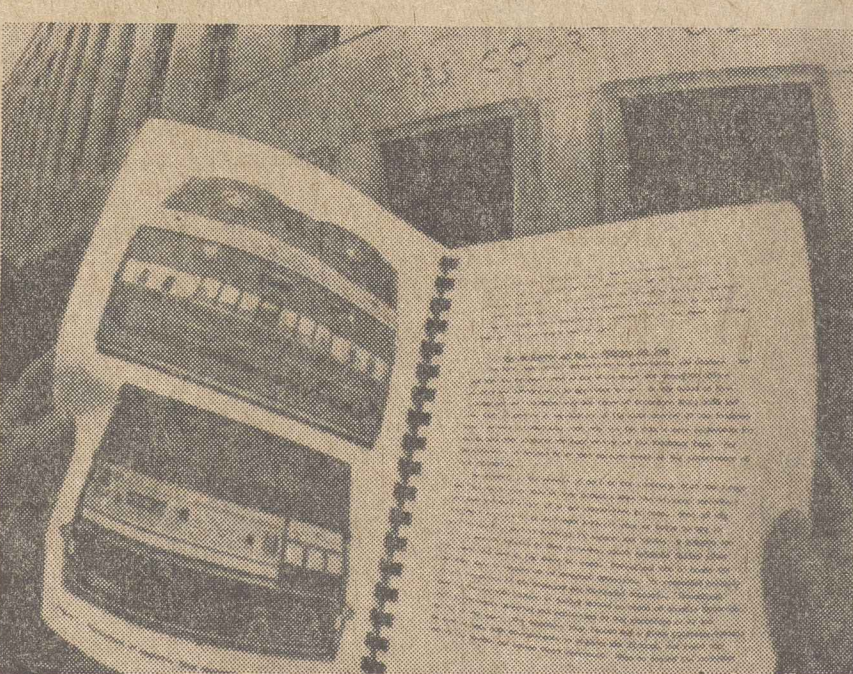
pedal, while answering her telephone for four to five minutes. After that, she said, she noticed that a section had been erased.

Charles S. Rhyne, Miss Woods' lawyer, tried to stop court acceptance of the report and its distribution with an extensive legal filing, saying it was "incompetent as evidence against our client."

Miss Woods "is completely innocent of any wrongdoing of any kind in connection with the matter of the 18½-minute gap," he said.

"While it is crystal clear that Rose Mary Woods has not and could not have committed any violation of law, we must reiterate her innocence because of the constant media 'trial' by leaked falsehoods to which she has been subjected," he said in the court papers.

Rhyne said the published and broadcast falsehoods included reports that there would be evidence she erased the tape, that she would plead the Fifth Amendment, that her lamp and typewriter caused the buzz on the gap and that she was asked and refused to take a lie detector test.



AP Photo

Report by Panel of Tape Experts Displayed Outside U.S. District Court in Washington Tuesday

'Live Witnesses' Needed: Butler

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., the state's lone member of the House impeachment panel, said Thursday "live witnesses" should be called to testify about Watergate and related activities but should be limited in the scope of their testimony.

Butler said he believed the Judiciary Committee's procedure should not follow the example of the Senate Watergate Committee, which last year allowed witnesses to make lengthy statements prior to questioning by committee members and staff investigators.

And, the 6th District Republican said, former presidential aide Charles Colson would be among the witnesses he would call for testimony.

"I feel there are instances where we have got to have witnesses to clarify certain points. There are many people

who have changed their stories from the time to time and they can only be clarified by live witnesses," Butler said, adding that the "sensitivity" of the impeachment inquiry would dictate that the testimony be held in closed sessions.

Asked specifically about Colson, who pleaded guilty to one charge in the breakin of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office, Butler said, "Colson, everything he's said is suspect at this moment, and I expect he'd be among those called."

He said he believed both the committee's interrogators and the 38 members themselves should be limited to some degree in the questioning of what he called "live witness."

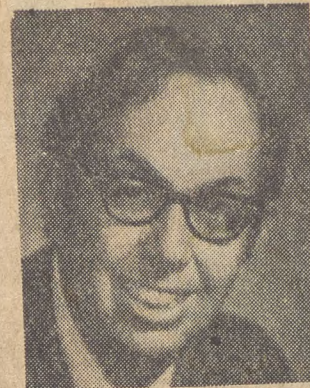
"The staff ought to be able to handle it (the questioning) pretty well, and maybe the committee members could submit written questions. But in any case, I don't think we ought to avoid

calling live witnesses when they have something to contribute. But if they just want to rehash something, no."

Butler also said he had been unaware that the President had been named an unindicted coconspirator in the Watergate cover-up in a secret grand jury report turned over to the judiciary committee several weeks ago.

"No, I hadn't received that information, and in fact I still haven't. I don't even think the committee counsel knew it," Butler said.

Earlier, however, committee counsel John Doar told reporters that he, minority counsel Albert Jenner, Chairman Peter Rodino and ranking minority member Edward Hutchinson had known of the secret grand jury action for some time before the news was announced Thursday.



Rep. Caldwell Butler

Dairy funds aided several Virginians

June 6 74 - WN

RICHMOND (AP)—Campaign finance reports show that 6th District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler wasn't the only Virginia congressional candidate who received money from milk interests in the 1972 campaign.

Dairy interests that year donated to candidates in at least five other Virginia campaigns, with the contributions ranging up to \$3,500.

The contributions came from a milk industry group, SPACE — for Special Political Action Community Education — set up by Dairymen, Inc., a milk farm cooperative centered the Southeastern states.

Contributions to Butler's 1972 campaign by SPACE totaling \$1,000 were reported earlier

this week. Butler was one of at least 16 members of the House Judiciary Committee who received donations from dairy co-operatives.

The committee, among other things, is investigating allegations that dairy contributions influenced President Nixon's decision to raise federal milk market support prices.

THE ROANOKE TIMES

Friday, June 7, 1974

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Milk Funds Given to 6

RICHMOND (AP)—Milk interests donated money to at least five 1972 Virginia congressional campaigns other than that of 6th District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, campaign finance records show.

Contributions to Butler's 1972 campaign by SPACE — Special Political Action Community Education — totaling \$1,000 were reported earlier this week.

Butler was one of at least 16 members of the House Judiciary Committee who received donations from the organization, which was set up by Dairymen, Inc., a milk farm cooperative centered in the Southeastern states.

The committee, among other things, is investigating allegations that dairy contributions influenced President Nixon's decision to raise federal milk market support prices.

The largest SPACE Virginia donation in 1972 — \$3,500 — went to 9th District Rep. William C. Wampler during his

campaign against Democrat Zane Dale Christian.

Rep. Joel Broyhill of the 10th District got \$1,000 from SPACE in his campaign against Democrat Harold Miller.

Rep. Stan Parris of the 8th District received \$1,000 in his first run for Congress, and subsequently received a \$200 donation dated last Dec. 21.

In the 7th District, Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson of Winchester drew \$1,000 from SPACE in his race for re-election against Democrat Murat Williams.

In the 4th District, former Del. Robert E. Gibson of Chesapeake was the Democratic nominee in a multicandidate race in 1972. He also received \$1,000 as a SPACE campaign donation.

Gibson's Republican opponent, now Rep. Robert W. Daniel Jr., received no contribution from the milk group, the records show.

Butler, Wampler, Parris and Robinson are Republicans.

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The World-News, Roanoke, Va., Wednesday, June 5, 1974

Butler defends dairy donation

WASHINGTON (AP)—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., says there's nothing improper about \$1,000 in campaign funds he received from dairy groups.

Butler, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, said Tuesday he received the money in \$500 increments before early September and late October or early November 1972 from SPACE, a group an aide said was the political arm of Dairymen, Inc.

Butler's comments came in response to an Associated Press report that at last 16 members of the Judiciary Committee had received contributions from the nation's three largest dairy farmer cooperatives.

Butler said his campaign committee "followed the spirit and letter of the law in every detail and promptly and properly reported" the two \$500 contributions to his campaign.

"There are substantial dairy interests in our district and I considered these contributions a legitimate expression of their interest in my campaign, which I appreciated, and I have no different view of it now."

Butler is a freshman congressman from the 6th District.

The Virginian-Pilot

Norfolk, Portsmouth, Virginia Beach, Chesapeake, and Suffolk, Virginia, Wednesday, June 5, 1974

★ ★

Today, Editorially

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- Sister Congressperso

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Price 10 Cents

The Virginian-Pilot Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—The House Judiciary Committee session Thursday resulting in the issuance of a subpoena for 42 White House tapes was marked by the defection of a Southern Republican on a key vote to limit the scope of the subpoena.

It also was the scene of several light moments leading up to what one member called "the most historic subpoena ever issued." The orator of that statement, Rep. Charles W. Sandman Jr., R-N.J., to issue the document in an afternoon session.

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, a freshman from Virginia's dominant GOP 6th Congressional District, was the lone member to break party ranks in a 22-16 defeat of an amendment that would have limited two of six different categories of White House conversations asked for by the committee in the subpoena and in previous letters to White House chief defense counsel James D. St. Clair. There are 21 Democrats and 17 Republicans on the committee.

The amendment, offered by Rep. David Dennis, R-Ind., would have eliminated the demands for all recordings of the President's conversations with former aid John Ehrlichman during the period April 14-17, 1973, and with former Att. Gen. Richard Kleindienst and Ass. Att. Gen. Henry Petersen during the period April 15-18, 1973.

Republicans sought to strike the two categories after committee counsel John Doar revealed that he had been telephoned just before the meeting by St. Clair, who offered to release the tapes falling into four specific categories requested by the committee in exchange for an agreement with the committee not to issue a subpoena.

St. Clair's last-minute offer, characterized later by Butler as "playing games," ultimately failed.

18½-Minute Gap Made 'Manually'

Panelists Received Milk Aid

Minimum of 16 From Judiciary

By BROOKS JACKSON

WASHINGTON (AP) — The nation's three largest dairy-farmer cooperatives made political donations of from \$100 to \$11,000 to at least 16 members of the House Judiciary Committee, which is investigating allegations that President Nixon was influenced by contributions from the same groups.

The recipients include committee Chairman Peter W. Rodino, whose urban New Jersey district has no dairy farmers in it. An aide said Rodino didn't ask for the money, and said he could not explain why the cooperatives gave it to the congressman from Newark.

Two of the recipients gave back the money after The Associated Press questioned them about it. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., gave back \$100 he got last March, and Thomas Railsback, R-Ill., returned \$500 he received in 1972.

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The three co-ops are Associated Milk Producers, Inc., Dairy-men, Inc., and Mid-America Dairymen, Inc. Together they control about one-fourth of the nation's milk production.

According to public records going to April 7, 1972, these committee members received money from one or more of the co-ops:

M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., \$1,000; William S. Cohen, R-Maine, \$3,000; John Conyers Jr., D-Mich., \$100; David W. Dennis, R-Ind., \$500; Walter Flowers, D-Ala., \$1,000; Harold W. Froehlich, R-Wis., \$100; William Hungate, D-Mo., \$2,300; Robert W. Kastenmeier, D-Wis., \$2,650; Trent Lott, R-Miss., \$2,500; Robert McClory, R-Ill., \$500; Edward Mezvinsky, D-Iowa, \$11,000; Wayne Owens, D-Utah, \$2,600; Railsback, \$500; Rangel, \$100; Rodino, \$4,100; and Jerome Waldie, D-Calif., \$200.



Rep. Butler

Acceptance Legitimate: Virginian

By JACK BETTS

The Virginian-Pilot Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, Roanoke Republican and Virginia's only member of the House Judiciary Committee, said Tuesday that his acceptance of 1972 milk fund contributions was legitimate and did not present a possible conflict of interest.

Butler, a freshman congressman on the impeachment panel, which soon will consider allegations that President Nixon received \$2 million in political contributions to raise milk supports in 1971, received \$1,000 in two \$500 gifts from Dairymen, Inc., in the fall of 1972. Butler's 1972 opponent, Willis Anderson of Roanoke, also received \$1,000, but that came from Associated Milk Producers.

Fifteen other committee members also received contributions from dairy cooperatives under committee investigation, and two members, Democrat Charles Rangel of New York and Republican Thomas Railsback of Illinois, said the money has been returned to the farm groups.

Butler rejected suggestions of impropriety in the recipients' sitting in judgment of the President's situation. He said he had received the first contribution in September 1972 and the second in October 1972 long after the Presi-

(See Milk, Page A4)

Experts Can Not Say Who, When

By HARRY F. ROSENTHAL

WASHINGTON (AP) — A panel of experts concluded, in a report released Tuesday, that an 18½-minute section of a White House tape recording was erased by someone operating the keyboard manually at least five times.

But, the panel said, its report "draws no inferences about such questions as whether the erasure and buzz were made accidentally or intentionally, or when, or by what person or persons."

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(See False, Page A4)

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By DONALD M. ROTHBERG

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The recording of the April 19, 1971, conversation was played during a closed committee session at which the panel began hearing evidence which its impeachment staff has compiled on White House involvement in the ITT antitrust settlement.

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Kleindienst and Mitchell testified before the Senate committee in March 1972 at hearings on confirmation of Kleindienst to succeed Mitchell as attorney general. Most of the questioning focused on the ITT settlement and an allegation that it was influenced by a \$200,000 pledge from an ITT subsidiary to help underwrite the cost of the Republican National Convention.

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"Not that I can recall," he replied. "It is possible that some casual reference could have been made to it, but so far as discussing any policy or any aspect of the case, I did not and I do not discuss antitrust matters there," he said.

Mitchell was asked if he had ever discussed the case with the President.

"Senator, the President has never talked to me about any antitrust case that was in the department," Mitchell replied. Mitchell had left the ITT case to Kleindienst because the attorney general's former New York law firm had represented the conglomerate.

But in a White House statement issued last Jan. 8, it was acknowledged that the President had called Kleindienst and ordered him not to appeal a court decision favorable to ITT in a government suit challenging its acquisition of Grinnell Corp.

On May 16, Kleindienst pleaded guilty in federal court to a misdemeanor charging that he "did refuse and fail to answer accurately and fully" the Senate committee's questions about the case.

The White House statement also said that April 20, 1971, Nixon discussed the Grinnell appeal with Mitchell and that the attorney general persuaded the President to drop his opposition to it.

The committee began looking into the ITT case apparently without making any decision on whether to summon Charles W. Colson, former White House special counsel, as a witness.

In Today's Pilot

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Rep. Butler Defects on Key Vote

The Virginian-Pilot Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—The House Judiciary Committee session Thursday resulting in the issuance of a subpoena for 42 White House tapes was marked by the defection of a Southern Republican on a key vote to limit the scope of the subpoena.

It also was the scene of several light moments leading up to what one member called "the most historic subpoena ever issued." The orator of that statement, Rep. Charles W. Sandman Jr., R-N.J., to issue the document in an afternoon session.

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, a freshman from Virginia's dominantly GOP 6th Congressional District, was the lone member to break party ranks in a 22-16 defeat of an amendment that would have limited two of six different categories of White House conversations asked for by the committee in the subpoena and in previous letters to White House chief defense counsel James D. St. Clair. There are 21 Democrats and 17 Republicans on the committee.

The amendment, offered by Rep. David Dennis, R-Ind., would have eliminated the demands for all recordings of the President's conversations with former aid John Ehrlichman during the period April 14-17, 1973, and with former Att. Gen. Richard Kleindienst and Ass. Att. Gen. Henry Petersen during the period April 15-18, 1973.

Republicans sought to strike the two categories after committee counsel John Doar revealed that he had been telephoned just before the meeting by St. Clair, who offered to release the tapes falling into four specific categories requested by the committee in exchange for an agreement with the committee not to issue a subpoena.

St. Clair's last-minute offer, characterized later by Butler as "playing games," ultimately failed.

Reformers, Reporters

From Page 1

opted all the reforms Gardner is suggesting, bitterly accused a press of blackening politicians' names with "guilt by association" tactics, while going easy on "the raptors" who provide anonymous accusations against public

for playing "distorted roles in advancing the cause of responsive, accountable government."

The former Johnson administration Cabinet official denounced "the Democratic leadership of the House" for allowing committee and campaign spending reforms to be

del and left the m Godwin spoke.

Nonetheless, there be widespread sup ethics resolution, k by Common Cause on all states to p free campaign fil tions" and string conflict of intere meeting laws. The

Today, Editorially

- Middle East
- Pentagon Spending
- Sister Congressperson

Page A14

Price 10 Cents

18½-Minute Gap

Made 'Manually'

Panelists Received Milk Aid

Minimum of 16
From Judiciary

By BROOKS JACKSON

WASHINGTON (AP) — The nation's three largest dairy-farmer cooperatives made political donations of from \$100 to \$11,000 to at least 16 members of the House Judiciary Committee, which is investigating allegations that President Nixon was influenced by contributions from the same groups.

The recipients include committee Chairman Peter W. Rodino, whose urban New Jersey district has no dairy farmers in it. An aide said Rodino didn't ask for the money, and said he could not explain why the cooperatives gave it to the congressman from Newark.

Two of the recipients gave back the money after The Associated Press questioned them about it. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., gave back \$100 he got last March, and Thomas Railsback, R-Ill., returned \$500 he received in 1972.

They said they acted to avoid any conflict of interest, but the other recipients said they see no conflict.

The committee is investigating allegations that the co-ops gave money to Nixon to raise milk price supports, impose dairy import quotas, and divert the course of a Justice Department antitrust investigation.

Nixon received \$727,500 from the co-ops over three years, and had been promised \$2 million. The White House has said this money didn't influence Nixon's actions.

The three co-ops are Associated Milk Producers, Inc., Dairy-men, Inc., and Mid-America Dairy-men, Inc. Together they control about one-fourth of the nation's milk production.

According to public records going to April 7, 1972, these committee members received money from one or more of the co-ops:

M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., \$1,000; William S. Cohen, R-Maine, \$3,000; John Conyers Jr., D-Mich., \$100; David W. Dennis, R-Ind., \$500; Walter Flowers, D-Ala., \$1,000; Harold W. Froehlich, R-Wis., \$100; William Hungate, D-Mo., \$2,300; Robert W. Kastenmeier, D-Wis., \$2,650; Trent Lott, R-Miss., \$2,500; Robert McClory, R-Ill., \$500; Edward Mezvinsky, D-Iowa, \$11,000; Wayne Owens, D-Utah, \$2,600; Railsback, \$500; Rangel, \$100; Rodino, \$4,100; and Jerome Waldie, D-Calif., \$200.



Rep. Butler

Acceptance Legitimate: Virginian

By JACK BETTS

The Virginian-Pilot Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, Roanoke Republican and Virginia's only member of the House Judiciary Committee, said Tuesday that his acceptance of 1972 milk fund contributions was legitimate and did not present a possible conflict of interest.

Butler, a freshman congressman on the impeachment panel, which soon will consider allegations that President Nixon received \$2 million in political contributions to raise milk supports in 1971, received \$1,000 in two \$500 gifts from Dairy-men, Inc., in the fall of 1972. Butler's 1972 opponent, Willis Anderson of Roanoke, also received \$1,000, but that came from Associated Milk Producers.

Fifteen other committee members also received contributions from dairy cooperatives under committee investigation, and two members, Democrat Charles Rangel of New York and Republican Thomas Railsback of Illinois, said the money has been returned to the farm groups.

Butler rejected suggestions of impropriety in the recipients' sitting in judgment of the President's situation. He said he had received the first contribution in September 1972 and the second in October 1972 long after the Presi-

(See Milk, Page A4)

Experts Can Not Say Who, When

By HARRY F. ROSENTHALL

WASHINGTON (AP) — A panel of experts concluded, in a report released Tuesday, that an 18½-minute section of a White House tape recording was erased by someone operating the keyboard manually at least five times.

But, the panel said, its report "draws no inferences about such questions as whether the erasure and buzz were made accidentally or intentionally, or when, or by what person or persons."

It said "questions of who made the buzz, or when, or why, did not come within the scope of our investigation."

White House lawyer James D. St. Clair immediately took issue with the technical findings, saying that the report "creates the false impression that all portions of the erasure were done manually and deliberately."

St. Clair and an expert hired independently by the White House objected to the panel's conclusion that a faulty power-supply part could not have caused the erasure.

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In Today's Pilot

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Broyhill Selected 12th Time

FALLS CHURCH (AP)—Rep. Joel T. Broyhill, R-Va., Saturday was unanimously nominated for a 12th congressional term from Virginia's 10th district, and vowed he would not be ousted from office because of the Watergate issue.

"The opposition will try to hang Watergate around my neck," said Broyhill, "but this is not going to be a defensive campaign."

"Watergate may affect a few votes, but not unless we take the election for granted."

Broyhill said the 400 people who attended the party's convention here made up the largest group ever to attend a district convention.

His traditional reception held after the convention was attended by more supporters than were at the convention.

The party-goers parked for blocks in all directions from Broyhill's house in Arlington, and some were driven to the party by a street car promoting his re-election.

Tenth District Republicans hold a nominating convention instead of a primary election, such as the one planned for Tuesday by Democrats in the district.

Broyhill will face the winner of a primary between Arlington County board member Joseph L. Fisher, Fairfax County Supervisors Martha V. Pennino and Rufus Phillips, and energy consultant Dennis Gregg.

Del. Vincent Callahan, R-Fairfax, who nominated Broyhill, said he provides "perhaps the best representation of any congressman on Capitol Hill."

Callahan said Broyhill had a record of passing legislation that is four times that of the average congressman.

Broyhill said he had gotten "tens of millions of dollars for the schools of northern Virginia through the federal impact aid program."

His speech was repeatedly interrupted with applause, but one of the biggest ovations of the day was reserved for his criticism of the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP).

Acclamation For Butler

NATURAL BRIDGE (AP)—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., was nominated by acclamation Saturday to seek a second term

as Virginia's 6th District congressman.

About 250 people attended the district Republican convention here in which Butler was unopposed for the nomination.

Butler, Virginia's only member of the House Judiciary Committee, said, "I cannot hide my disappointment at the failure of the President to accept the challenges of the Watergate disclosures by a prompt release of requested information and total cooperating in all prosecution."

"My loyalty to the President does not cause me to condone this course of action, but you may be assured it does not color my judgment of the substantive determination we are to make."

Former Gov. Liwood Holton keynoted the convention, saying despite Watergate, Congress has made substantial progress. Holton, now assistant secretary of state for congressional affairs, said he feels impeachment is a legitimate test and said the system can work.

Sheriff to Face Butler

ROANOKE (AP)—Roanoke City Sheriff Paul Puckett was nominated on the third ballot Saturday to be the Democratic candidate to contest Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., in this fall's congressional election.

Eleventh-hour favorite-son bids by Bath County Commonwealth's Atty. Erwin Sollomon and Frank Nolen of Augusta apparently complicated a convention which anticipated only three candidates.

Puckett, with 176 votes, emerged the winner, however, as he garnered 13 votes more than was necessary to win the majority of the convention's 325 delegates.

Running a close race all the way was Tom Nolan of Roanoke, a social worker for the Catholic Diocese of Richmond. Nolan finished with 141 convention votes, but Puckett's nomination was made unanimous after he had gone over the top.

The third ballot was a head-to-head contest between Puckett and Nolan.

The other candidate in the contest was James Hooven, a professor at Virginia Western Community College.

Observers speculated that the

favorite-son entries of Sollomon and Nolen were designed to test each other's strength for seeking the Democratic nomination to contest State Sen. H. D. (Buzz) Dawbarn of Waynesboro in the 1975 24th Senatorial District election.

Demos Pick Gilliam

CHARLOTTESVILLE (AP)—Seventh District Democrats nominated Charlottesville City Councilman George H. Gilliam to be their candidate for Congress this fall, after a spirited five-man contest Saturday produced a lively first ballot, in which none of the five garnered the majority.

On the second ballot, however, individual delegates began switching their votes, and before the roll call was finished, a motion was made that Gilliam, 31, be nominated unanimously.

The move for nomination by acclamation was made by Ernest Evans of Page County, Gilliam's nearest rival for the nod to take on incumbent two-term Republican Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson of Winchester.

Gilliam tallied 93 votes on the first ballot, well short of the 119 needed for nomination, while Evans followed with 73 votes. Finishing further down the line in the balloting were Charles C. Motley of Warrenton, University of Virginia Prof. Theodore Caplow of Albemarle County, and John Pruitt Jr. of Fredericksburg. Two convention votes on the first ballot went to state Sen. J. Harry Michael of Charlottesville, the party's unsuccessful 1973 candidate for lieutenant governor.

Demo Daniel Gets Assist From GOP

DANVILLE (AP)—The 5th District Republican convention Saturday all but assured Rep. W. C. (Dan) Daniel, D-Va., of his fourth term in the House when it unanimously approved a resolution not to offer a congressional candidate this fall.

One convention delegate, John Metzger of Cumberland County, tried to get the convention to en-

dorse Daniel, a conservative democrat, but his move was ruled out of order on procedural grounds.

Virginian-Pilot,

Sunday, June 9, 1974

A3

A10 Virginian-Pilot,

Friday, June 7, 1974

'Live Witnesses' Wanted by Butler

By JACK BETTS

The Virginian-Pilot Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., the state's lone member of the House impeachment panel, said Thursday "live witnesses" should be called to testify about Watergate and related activities but should be limited in the scope of their testimony.

Butler, in a brief interview, said he believed the Judiciary Committee's procedure should not follow the example of the Senate Watergate committee, which last year allowed witnesses to make lengthy statements prior to questioning by committee members and staff investigators.

And, the 6th District Republican said, former presidential aid Charles (Chuck) Colson would be among the witnesses he would call for testimony.

"I feel there are instances where we have got to have witnesses to clarify certain points. There are many people who have changed their stories from time to time and they can only be clarified by live witnesses," said Butler, adding that the "sensitivity" of the impeachment inquiry would dictate that the testimony be held in closed sessions.

Asked specifically about Colson, who pleaded guilty to one charge in the break-in of Daniel

Ellsberg's psychiatrist's offices, Butler said, "Everything he's said is suspect at this moment, and I expect he'd be among those called."

He said he believed both the committee's interrogators and the 38 members themselves should be limited to some degree in the questioning of what he called "live witnesses."

"The staff ought to be able to handle it (the questioning) pretty well, and maybe the committee members could submit written questions. But in any case, I don't think we ought to avoid calling live witnesses when they have something to contribute. But if they just want to rehash something, no."

Butler also said he had been unaware that the President had been named an unindicted coconspirator in the Watergate cover-up in a secret grand jury report turned over to the Judiciary Committee several weeks ago.

"No, I hadn't received that information, and in fact I still haven't. I don't even think the committee counsel knew it," Butler said.

Earlier, however, committee counsel John Doar told reporters that he, minority counsel Albert Jenner, Chairman Peter Rodino, and ranking minority member Edward Hutchinson had known of the secret grand jury action for some time before the news was announced Thursday.

GOP leader will help Butler

WASHINGTON—House Minority Leader John Rhodes of Arizona will campaign this fall for Rep. Caldwell Butler in his 6th District campaign. Butler said he has invited others to the district, but he did not name them.

Butler said Thursday he'd welcome the President or

anybody else who might want to help him.

Butler, meanwhile, said he is not going to release results of a poll on whether the President should be impeached and removed from office. He

said he's afraid the wording of the question confused many voters.

Butler said anybody in his district can get the poll results by calling one of his offices.

Call or Write

SEAL-TITE

Butler's High Duty

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, Republican of this district, was correct in minimizing responses to the impeachment question in his March questionnaire. Mr. Butler's task is to convince his constituents that he is a man of good judgment; that he is not acting in a partisan way on impeachment; that he is attentive to all of the evidence and that, when the final votes come, he will search his judgment and his conscience and vote the way he thinks is right. In performance of that high duty, the March questionnaire would not be of much help; neither would a more up-to-date and complete questionnaire. Mr. Butler has some lonely decisions to make but if he goes about it the right way his former supporters will continue to support him, no matter how the roll call reads. Most people in the Sixth District would consider themselves lucky not to be in such a hot, but historically important, place on the House Judiciary Committee.

R.T. - Sun June 23, 1974

Rep. Butler releases poll 'reluctantly'

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler has disclosed that 13,171 or 62.9 per cent of his constituents who answered a poll feel that President Nixon should be impeached.

On the other hand, he added, the poll figures do not give a true picture because of poor wording of the questions.

Butler released the figures "reluctantly" yesterday shortly before Paul J. Puckett, Roanoke sheriff and Democratic nominee for Butler's seat, called a press conference.

Puckett said: "I think Mr. Butler is defending an immoral president."

Butler set off a storm of protests with his earlier refusal to release results of the poll.

He blamed himself for the wording of poll questions that he said were not clear to many voters in the Sixth District.

The question began with this premise: "The United States Constitution provides that the President of the United States may be impeached and removed from office for

treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors."

The specific question was: "In your opinion should the President of the United States be impeached and removed from office in accordance with the above?"

Although 62.9 per cent marked "yes," Butler said they were indicating that if a President were guilty of these crimes, he should be removed from office but they were not saying Nixon was guilty.

Response to another question as to whether a President should be impeached for misconduct of his subordinates if it were established that he had no personal knowledge of the misconduct was more pro-Nixon.

The 16,734 voters—80.24 per cent of those answering—marked "no."

Butler is a member of the House Judiciary Committee in which the first showdown vote on impeachment will come.

He emphasized his reluctance to release the figures and said "I hope those who review the results (of the poll) will be aware of my own reservations."

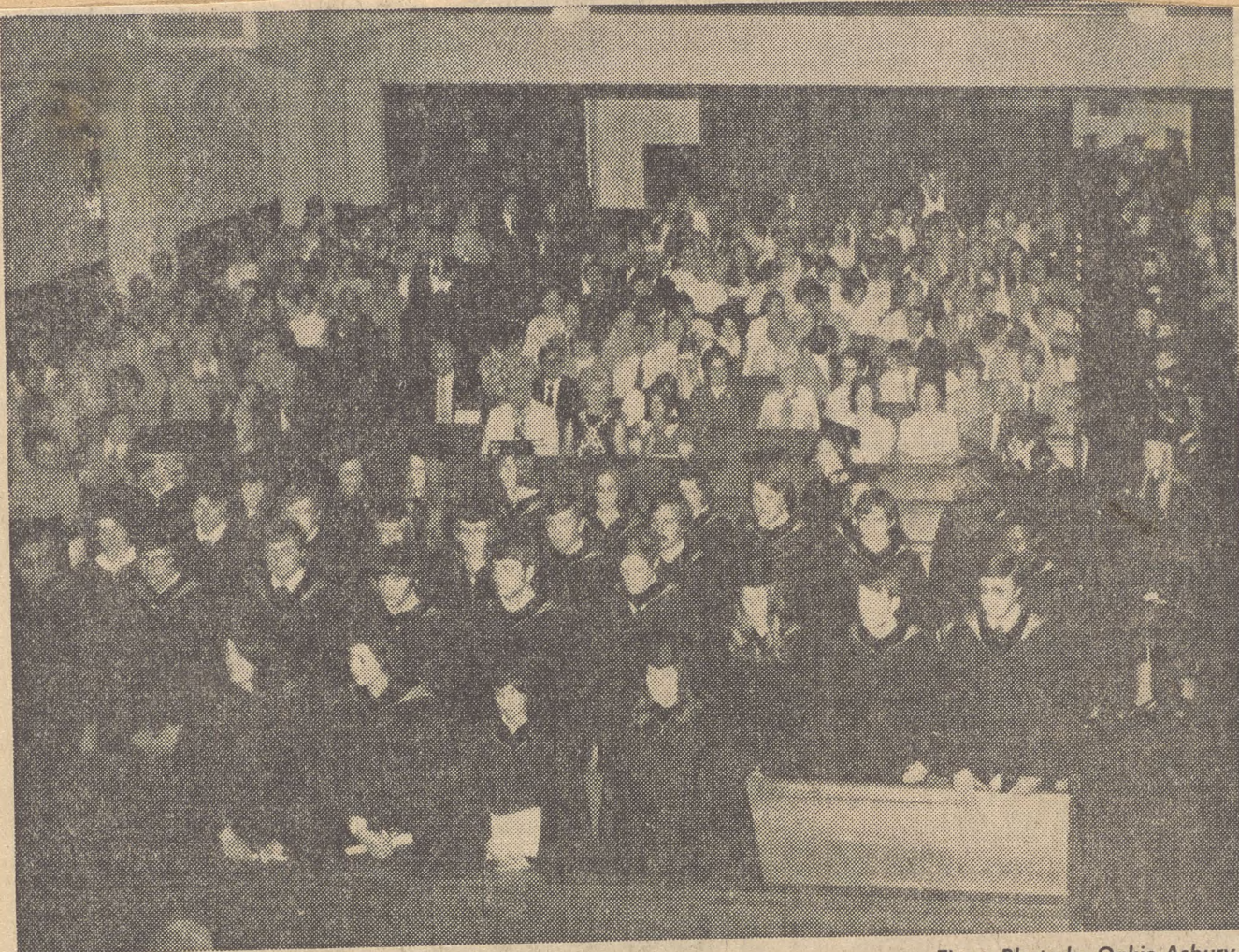
When Puckett held his press conference, he was not aware that Butler had released the poll figures. He said it is not a question of what the poll shows but Butler's "refusal to be open and above board with the people he supposedly represents."

In releasing the poll figures, Butler's staff in Washington culled out notes written on several of them in an apparent effort to substantiate Butler's assertion that many participants were confused by the wording.

A Covington resident who had voted "yes" on impeachment scribbled a note saying: "It has not yet been proven that the President is guilty and I don't believe he is."

Another voter said the question was confusing because "on one hand it can be read as asking whether one agrees with the Constitution and on the other hand it could be read as asking whether the current President should be impeached."

One Roanoker wanted to know: "What possesses a lawmaker to raise a question about compliance with the U.S. Constitution?"



Times Photo by Oakie Asbury

National Business College Graduates File Into First Presbyterian Church for Commencement

Nation Will Overcome Watergate, Butler Says

R.T.
Mon.
June 24
1974

The American political and economic systems work, and current problems of the U.S. aren't insurmountable, National Business College graduates were told Sunday.

Congressman M. Caldwell Butler told graduates, family and friends that America has the most stable government in the world and that, as in the past, it will overcome Watergate and the fuel crisis.

Being a member of the House Committee on the Judiciary, Butler said he felt it was appropriate to mention impeachment during the 88th graduation exercises of Na-

tional Business College, but he declined comment on the committee's activities.

Butler, however, said that investigating the impeachment of President Richard Nixon is a "heavy responsibility" and that all evidence against Nixon is being presented "fairly and orderly."

Nixon, the 6th District congressman said, will also have an opportunity to present his evidence in the same manner.

Butler also told those attending graduation at First Presbyterian Church to adjust to the fuel crisis and seek improvements and develop natural resources.

The congressman also urged the 62 graduates to participate in bicentennial celebrations.

The bicentennial celebration, Butler said, offers Americans an opportunity to rededicate themselves.

Mrs. Barry Young was the recipient of the college's M. A. Smythe Accounting award for scholastic achievement and the E. M. Coulter Management Award was presented to Lucille Eileen Barba.

Sherry Lynn Jones received the highest shorthand award and Freda Jane Ainsworth received the highest typing award.



Rep. M. Caldwell Butler

R-T - Sun June 23, 1974

'Busy' Isn't Word For Rep. Butler

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — It's a killing pace. For Virginia's Manley Caldwell Butler, 49 years old earlier this month, and the 37 other members of the House Judiciary Committee, it means combining the everyday burdens of running congressional office with a backbreaking, frustrating and sometimes boring litany of evidence linking President Nixon with the Watergate crimes.

It means early morning risings to pour over more of the thousands of pages of evidence, hurried trips to the office to huddle with staffers, then fighting through crowds of reporters to get to the day-long closed sessions on time.

It means plowing back through the journalists at the noon break, most members dashing for the House floor to either avoid commenting on the morning's sessions or to get there in time to answer quorum calls, then a hurried bite to eat before the long afternoon session.

And for most, like Butler, it means finally getting to the office to try to do a day's work at 5:30 or 6 p.m. After a few hours in the office, it's home for a late supper and more reading of evidence late into the night.

It's that way for three to four days a week, and then they've got to go back to their home districts to meet constituents and try to walk the narrow line between those who would throw the President out and those who would keep him in at all cost.

It means, for some members, more publicity and exposure to the country than they could have wished for at any other time.

Eventually, it may make some careers; it is possible that others will end in the fall elections.

For some committee members, like New Jersey's Joseph Marazitti, it means a chance to get on national television, an opportunity he gleefully cultivated until it became apparent that his attention tends to wander while he is behind the closed doors of the committee's quarters.

For Democrat William Hungate of Missouri, whose ribald, folksy humor avails itself of every opportunity, it means tossing off such lines as "(Nixon) is as pure as the driven slush."

But for the gentleman from Roanoke, who brought to Washington a reputation for candor and a sharp wit, it has been a time to turn inward a bit, to choose words exceedingly carefully, and to make a determined effort that the extremists of both political parties will not make a mockery of the impeachment proceedings.

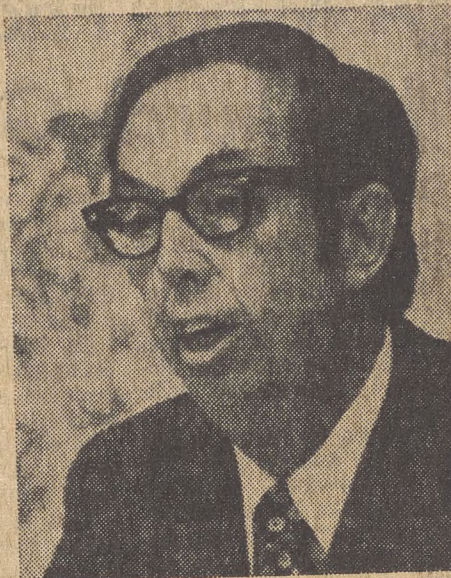
It has not been easy for Butler these last six months.

Just 18 months ago he was the Republican nominee in a Republican district with the Republican presidential incumbent campaigning in the 6th District. It was an expensive campaign, and Butler had spend \$103,000, more than twice as much as the Democratic nominee, to win. The margin was comfortable and so was the mood of the country.

There was little controversy in his first months in Washington. Perhaps most disturbing, if anything was so, was his committee assignment; he landed on the Judiciary Committee where his pre-

"I really wanted something different. After all, I've been a lawyer a good while, and a change of pace, something out of my profession, would be refreshing."

—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler on
His Appointment To the
House Judiciary Committee.



decessor, Richard Poff, had won respect over the course of 10 terms. It was not, however, considered a plum and Butler had hoped for an assignment on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, where he could work on everything from transportation to health.

Butler told a reporter, "I really wanted something different. After all, I've been a lawyer a good while, and a change of pace, something out of my profession, would be refreshing."

He got it. The Vice President of the United States suddenly resigned in a payoff scandal and the committee made history in confirming a vice president. It was the most excitement the committee had seen in a while, but it was to see much more before long.

When the President fired Watergate Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox in what came to be known as the Saturday Night Massacre, Butler prophesied accurately: "The President has to clear all this up or all this impeachment talk is going to be more difficult to deal with."

For many Republicans — all perhaps — it is more than difficult. It is high impossible.

Butler has said he is "persuadable" on an impeachment vote, which is virtually the same line taken by most of the Republicans—but political overseers in Washington believe there is a small group among them that will truly follow that course.

Butler is among them. The other are considered to be second-ranking Republican Robert McClory of Ill., Tom Railsback of Ill., Hamilton Fish of New York, and William Cohen of Maine.

If the committee approves a bill of impeachment, their votes are considered of utmost importance to Chairman Peter Rodino's hopes of producing a bipartisan majority, of avoiding the appearance of a Democratic witch hunt.

Already there is talk that Butler's performance to date may well be a bellweather of the way he will vote when the committee votes in July on the final resolution. Almost from the first he has supported the majority view in subpoenaing tape recordings and transcripts of conversations between the President and his aides.

So far, it appears that nothing in the committee's deliberations has been easy

for Butler. Responding to reporters questions, he sometimes seems on the verge of blurting what he truly feels, but always retreats into guarded statements as Chairman Rodino has wished.

"If there are any leaks," Butler said recently, emphasizing the "if," "they are not coming from me."

He will not talk about matters of substance before the committee, but will respond only to questions of procedure.

That posture apparently is winning him the respect among his colleagues in the Virginia congressional delegation. One long-time Republican said last week, "Caldwell's trying to keep an open mind on impeachment, and a lot of us who are not on the committee, who are not hearing the tapes every day, are going to find his counsel immensely helpful."

Another said, "None of us will ever have another vote as crucial as this one (impeachment), and we're looking to him for guidance not on how to vote, but things like, 'how did this tape sound when you were listening to it? What was your impression?' That sort of thing. I'm glad he's there because we're sure going to pick his brain."

The bespectacled, lanky Butler, through it all, appears imperturbable. As always, he is quick to throw a question right back, to turn a sticky question to his advantage. Once he told a reporter who had put an innocent but potentially explosive one to him, "You're not smart enough to understand it even if I answered it." Then he laughed and changed the subject.

The son of a Roanoke doctor, who can trace his lineage back to Supreme Court Justice John Marshall and to Gen. James A. Walker, a turn-of-the-century congressman who Butler says "put the fight into Virginia's Fightin' 9th District", carried the burden of the impeachment assignment with a proper gravity but without the false drama of the self-important.

"Tough? Lonely? Sure it is. It's hard. But that's the job, and I'm going to do it," he said one day last week.

With his renomination to the 6th District seat earlier this month, it appears Manley Caldwell Butler is intent on continuing to do it.

R. T. - June 26, 1974

House Panel Seeks More Nixon Tapes

WASHINGTON (AP) — The House Judiciary Committee subpoenaed 49 more presidential conversations Monday despite notice from the White House that there was very little chance the panel would get any of them.

The committee's latest demands for evidence for its impeachment inquiry were contained in four subpoenas seeking material related to the ITT antitrust settlement, campaign contributions from dairy cooperatives, domestic surveillance activities and attempts to use the Internal Revenue Service to harass political opponents.

The committee has directed eight subpoenas to President Nixon, who has complied with none.

Asked why the committee was continuing to issue subpoenas when there was so little chance they would be obeyed, committee chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr., said, "I don't know of any other way the committee can make a proper inquiry. If the President refuses to comply with a proper request fully authorized by the House, the American people should know it."

On identical votes of 34 to 4, the committee approved subpoenas demanding 19 ITT conversations and 18 related to an administration decision to raise milk price supports.

Voting against the subpoenas were four Republicans: Reps. Edward Hutchinson of Michigan, Charles E. Wiggins of California, Trent Lott of Mississippi and Delbert Latta of Ohio.

The other two subpoenas were approved on voice votes with no opposition heard.

Ten conversations related to domestic surveillance, including the activities of the White House plumbers, and two related to the IRS were demanded.

The subpoenas also demand various memoranda and White House logs of presidential conversations as well as the news summaries prepared for the President during certain periods.

All four subpoenas demand a response by 10 a.m., EDT, July 2.

Meanwhile, President Nixon was rebuffed in his attempt to obtain the evidence leading the Watergate grand jury to name him as an unindicted co-conspirator.

The Supreme Court deferred action Monday on the request, saying it would consider the question, along with other Watergate-related matters, at a hearing it has scheduled for July 8.

In other Watergate-related matters: —A private investigator said Charles W. Colson, a former special counsel to the President, told him Nixon is convinced the Central Intelligence Agency helped carry out the Daniel Ellsberg psychiatrist burglary and knew in advance of the Watergate break-in."

—Senate Republican Leader Hugh Scott accused members of the Senate Watergate committee staff of preparing investigative reports unlikely to be used and then leaking them to the press.

John Doar, chief counsel for the impeachment inquiry, told the committee that much of the material requested in the domestic surveillance area stemmed from Colson's statement last Friday that "the President on numerous occasions



AP Photo

Jenner and Doar Confer With Rodino and McCloory

McCloory, an Illinois Republican, Is Committee Member

Butler Joins in Bid For Conversations

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., Monday voted with overwhelming majorities in approving four House Judiciary Committee subpoenas for 49 presidential conversations and sided with most of his GOP colleagues in a losing effort to extend another subpoena to U.S. District Court Chief Judge John Sirica.

Butler voted with a 34-4 majority on two of the subpoenas dealing with the ITT and milk contribution pledges and later voted for the IRS abuse subpoena and another on domestic surveillance activities on voice votes.

During consideration of the ITT subpoena, Butler objected to one section that called for the President's copies of daily news summaries prepared by his staff during the confirmation hearings of former Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst from February 22, 1972, through June 9, 1972.

Committee minority counsel Albert Jenner told the impeachment panel that the summaries might indicate to the committee whether the President had knowledge that Kleindienst had not fully testified to the Senate Judiciary Committee on White House involvement in the settlement of antitrust charges against ITT.

Kleindienst later was given a one-month suspended sentence and a suspended \$100 fine for not giving full testimony.

Jenner told the committee that since the President occasionally made notes in the margins of the news summaries the committee would be able to tell whether he knew Kleindienst's testimony was incomplete, which he said might constitute an obstruction of justice.

Butler asked whether the committee lawyer was suggesting that since the President has vowed not to turn over any subpoenaed material, the Judiciary Committee should either assume the President knew of Kleindienst's statements, or that the President had something to hide.

"They (the summaries) have no probative value at all," Butler said.

Jenner said it would be reasonable to make such assumptions adding that "it's all part of the same ball of wax" the committee is considering.

After his motion failed, Froelich said he had "absolutely no doubt" that "a majority of the members" were trying to lay a case for impeachment of the President's refusal to comply with subpoenas.

Butler, admitting that "some may say so," declined to comment on that theory but said, "we've taken the position of telling the President what we want, and why we need it."

The Roanoke Republican also said he was "disturbed" that committee chairman Peter Rodino will make rulings from the chair on material that presidential lawyer James St. Clair may present to the committee in rebuttal to evidence presented the committee over the last six weeks.

Butler indicated that he was prepared to support a motion by Rep. Wayne Owens, D-Utah, that would have prevented St. Clair from presenting material contained in tapes not in the committee's possession unless the President agreed to turn such tapes over to the committee first, but Owens said he had received Rodino's assurance it was unnecessary.

"He (St. Clair) hasn't got any business coming in here and telling us about something we don't have," Butler said. "My own view of it is that he should tell us that our counsel has or hasn't given the right information."

Butler was asked whether there was a growing feeling among committee members that one article of impeachment against the President might be that he had failed to "take care," as the Constitution puts it, to fully execute the laws of the United States.

Said Butler, "That question goes to the substance of material before the committee in executive session."

Butler Says Panel Fair on Witnesses

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, Virginia's representative on the House Judiciary Committee, said Wednesday the committee was making sure that presidential lawyer James St. Clair "cannot walk away saying he hasn't gotten fair treatment."

Chatting with reporters about St. Clair's request to bring five former administration, re-election committee and Watergate lawyers before the committee when it begins to hear witnesses next week, Butler also gleefully remarked that the "Democratic ship was beginning to sink and they've had to regroup."

He was referring to a hasty Democratic caucus called by impeachment committee Chairman Peter Rodino, D-N.J., after four Democrats joined all 17 committee Republicans Wednesday afternoon in moving to accede to St. Clair's request.

Earlier, Rodino had buttonholed Butler for 15 minutes on the House floor and spoke animatedly to the Roanoke Republican in what Butler later said was an effort "to make sure that everybody was being heard on the witness issue."

The committee, in what several members described as a heated debate, decided in closed session Wednesday night to call five witnesses for their inquiry.

Democrat Ray Thornton of Arkansas sponsored a motion to call former presidential counsel John Dean III, former re-election committee official Frederick La Rue, former personal lawyer to the President Herbert Kalmbach, Asst. Atty. Gen. Henry Petersen and former White House aide Alexander Butterfield to testify next week, and to interview five others to see if their testimony might be of further help to the committee.

Thornton proposed giving Rodino and ranking Republican Edward Hutchinson, R-Mich., the right to decide whether former White House aide Charles Colson, former White House chief of Staff H. R. Haldeman, former Atty. Gen. John Mitchell, former re-election committee aide Paul O'Brien and attorney for E. Howard Hunt, William Bittman, should be allowed to testify also before the committee.

But in a series of votes Wednesday evening, the Republican members had argued that all St. Clair's proposed witnesses should be included in the list to testify next week. St. Clair wants Dean, La Rue, O'Brien, Mitchell, Haldeman and Bittman all to testify.

And in a 21-17 vote, with Democrats Don Edwards of California, Wayne Owens of Utah, Walter Flowers of Alabama and James Mann of South Carolina siding with them, the Republicans forced the committee to return later Wednesday evening to determine if the committee would interview the five potential witnesses or if it would proceed to call them along with the first five.

Butler said he believed St. Clair's request was reasonable and added, "St. Clair's too smart to run the risk of overstating his case."

The 6th District congressman said he had voted on both Tuesday and Wednesday to keep committee deliberations in closed session and to delay release of the committee's evidence because "I don't want anything our committee does to run the risk of dismissal against Ehrlichman (former White House domestic affairs advisor John Ehrlichman on trial in the Ellsberg case) or Mitchell, particularly, due to excess pretrial publicity."

Butler said he voted against early release of the impeachment evidence also because he feared for the rights of other parties.

"My view, strangely enough, is common with (Democratic Rep.) Don Edwards, former president of Americans for Democratic Action, who made it clear the rights of so many are involved that releasing it before we present our case to the House was premature."

He said the committee had received a list of characters in the evidence that approach 500 persons — "a lot of them innocent people who just happened to be there."

He said that when evidence was taken against Supreme Court Justice William Douglas in an abortive impeachment move several years ago, the records were sealed and never have been released.

So, Butler said, the committee action to release the evidence "in my judgment was a mistake."

Butler Refuses To Publicize Ouster Poll

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, Republican of Roanoke, Thursday announced his refusal to release the results of a recent questionnaire on whether the President should be impeached and removed from office.

However, Butler said in a formal statement, he would "be glad to provide any constituent with the results should he wish them."

Before issuing the statement, Butler told a reporter that he feared the wording of the impeachment question, contained in a questionnaire mailed to 6th District constituents in March, had confused many residents and said the resulting responses might not be representative.

After releasing it, Butler amplified his objections to releasing the impeachment question results.

He said he realized his refusal to make public the results while promising to respond to individual requests was "sort of inconsistent," but said their release to the press would serve no purpose at all.

When it was suggested that any district news reporter could request the information and then publish the results, Butler responded, "but if it's going to be published, it's not going to come from me."

The Judiciary Committee member also said that since March, when the questionnaire was mailed, "there has been so much water under the bridge that their (the constituents) views may have changed."



Rep. M. Caldwell Butler

More than 21,000 constituents responded to the questionnaire.

Shortly after mailing the questionnaire, The Roanoke Times editorially criticized Butler's wording of the question and suggested he not reveal the results.

The impeachment question was worded:

"The United States Constitution provides that the President of the United States may be impeached and removed from office for 'treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors.'"

"A. In your opinion, should the President of the United States be impeached and removed from office in accord with the above?"

"B. In your opinion, should a President of the United States be impeached and removed from office for the

misconduct of his subordinates even if it were established that the President had no personal knowledge of their misconduct and had not consented to it?"

Butler said in the statement that "editorial and citizen comment accompanying response to these questions indicated substantial confusion as to the meaning of the questions. It was valuable to me in gauging citizen comment at the time it was submitted in March, but I do not believe it would serve a useful purpose to reveal the results for publication at this time; and it could be misleading."

In the statement, Butler released the results of three other questions in the same questionnaire.

Fifty-seven per cent (11,890) of those who responded to the survey said they approved of legislation that would allow removal of automobile anti-pollution devices during a gasoline shortage, while 35 per cent, or 7,401, said they opposed it. Nearly eight per cent had no opinion on the matter.

Nearly 48 per cent of the constituents, or 9,147, said they favored increasing trade with the Soviet Union, 38 per cent, or 7,877, said they were against it, and almost 19 per cent, or 3,892, had no opinion.

However, 58 per cent of the respondents, or 12,133, said they would insist on changes in Soviet policies before they would favor increased trade, while 27 per cent, or 5,678, said U.S. should not insist on changes in Soviet policies. Fifteen per cent had no opinion.

R.T. - June 29, 1974



Times Photo by Oakie Asbury

Salem Democrats Joined by Puckett at Supper in Mowles Spring Park

Puckett Chides Rep. Butler On Impeachment Poll Results

By MELVILLE CARICO
Times Political Writer

Congressional candidate Paul J. Puckett said Friday night Rep. M. Caldwell Butler ought to believe his own poll, that a majority of voters in the 6th District think President Nixon should be impeached.

Butler discounted the results of his poll, claiming the wording of the question was misleading, but Puckett insisted "the 63 per cent (which the poll showed) was no error at all."

Puckett spoke to about 40 well-wishers at a pot luck supper sponsored by the Salem Democratic Committee at Mowles Spring Park. It was a chilly, damp night after an all-day rain and sponsors said they are confident there would have been a better turnout if it had not been for the weather.

Still, a cross-section of the Democratic party in Salem was there.

Puckett said he is confident

the Butler poll is correct, no matter what the congressman says, because he has been talking to people and knows

how they feel about Watergate and the Nixon Administration.

"I know they are shocked

and disturbed," he declared.

Puckett said this year's congressional elections "are going to bring government back to the people" by defeating congressman like Butler who, he charged, consistently supports President Nixon to the detriment of his district.

He said Butler has a record of supporting the White House 80 per cent of the time when the district needs a congressman who is more in tune to the wishes of the people in the district.

Puckett, sheriff in Roanoke, predicted this year's elections in the wake of Watergate "will bring a new day to the political processes."

Watergate, Puckett said, has one good side—"the whole mess is now out where it can be seen."

He told the small gathering of chilly Democrats that this year the issues are on the Democrats' side—that he would like to "meet" Butler—he did not use the word debate.



Times Photo by Oakie Asbury

Elizabeth Fisher Enjoys Her Chicken

Roanoke Valley News

Roanoke, Va., Thursday, June 27, 1974

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Split hurts panel try: Butler

Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON — The Judiciary Committee's 21 to 17 party line vote rejecting Republican efforts to call six witnesses for the President

was a substantial crack in Chairman Peter Rodino's carefully conceived plan for a bipartisan impeachment inquiry, Roanoke Congressman M. Caldwell Butler said today.

The committee voted to call five witnesses—two of them on presidential attorney James St. Clair's list—and to interview five others to determine if they should be allowed to testify next week.

The vote was taken Wednesday night after all 17 Republicans and four Democrats had forced a vote on a proposal to definitely call all 10 witnesses.

Butler said Rodino was in danger of losing four Democrats on the final vote and had to call a party caucus to "get out the whip and get them in line."

Butler said the split was not "irreparable. Anyway, I'm not absolutely sure the witnesses we are not calling are essential, but we ought to make sure everyone on our committee is satisfied the President has been given a fair shake."

He said he was disturbed that the committee has set a deadline of July 12 for hearing the last of the witnesses.

"It's a real disappointment that the committee, having gone to all the trouble of being so meticulous in the presentation to date, may blow it by setting a cutoff."

St. Clair began an expected two days of rebuttal to the committee's evidence this morning and Butler said the presidential lawyer's presentation was more lively than that of committee counsel John Doar.

"Of course, St. Clair's got a lot more personality than Doar," said Butler.

Va. volume of traffic still down

Traffic volumes on Virginia's major highways remained down in May, falling 3.8 per cent below the volume for May 1973, the State Department of Highways has announced.

J. P. Mills Jr., the department's traffic and safety engineer, said that despite improved availability of gasoline supplies, weekday travel was down 2.4 per cent, Saturday travel was off 8.4 per cent, and Sunday traffic dropped 13.9 per cent.

It marked the fifth consecutive month that travel on the major highways—the interstate, arterial and primary routes—had been below levels for the corresponding months a year ago. In recent years, traffic has been increasing at the rate of 5 to 6 per cent annually.

Mills attributed the reduction in May to the public's continued efforts to conserve fuel and to the higher prices of gasoline.

He said that travel by all passenger cars decreased 5.4 per cent, travel by Virginia passenger cars was down 4.4 per cent, and travel by out-of-state cars decreased 10 per cent. Commercial vehicle travel was up 1.5 per cent over May of 1973.

House Novice May Be Swing Vote on Nixon

By Helen DeWar

Washington Post Staff Writer

Pictures of President Nixon line his office walls and he had one of the most consistently pro-administration records in Congress last year. But conservative freshman Rep. M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.) — a meticulously precise lawyer with a keen mind, sharp tongue and paucity of tolerance for wrong-doing — is emerging as a key swing vote on presidential impeachment in the House Judiciary Committee.

It wasn't always that way.

At the start, Butler was openly wary of impeachment, saying the House had a heavy burden of proof and he would be hard to convince.

More recently he has grown impatient with the President's refusal to release records requested by the Committee, suggesting at times that an adverse inference might be drawn from noncompliance.

In the Committee's historic April 11 vote to subpoena presidential tapes, Butler was the only Republican to side with the Democrats and ask for more items than the White House was willing to supply, and he has voted with the Democrats on other occasions.

He also is said to have influence on the committee that is uncommon for a freshman. He's a "very thoughtful conservative" who often plays the role of a "common-sense arbiter" of disputes among his colleagues, said Rep. Thoms F. Rallsback (R-Ill.), another Judiciary member.

Assiduously keeping his own counsel, Butler tells both his Washington colleagues and Roanoke homefolks that he is reserving judgment until he sees all the evidence. Rallsback and others say he's one of the least predictable of the six or seven pivotal members of the Committee.

Butler acknowledges that "it's hard to put aside party loyalty" and quite natural to want to be charitable to your friends" but adds: "I don't have any sort of commitment to condone anything that is inappropriate."

His own Sixth District, stretching across the lower Shenandoah Valley from the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge to the Alleghenies and encompassing some of the most Republican territory in Virginia, gave the President his biggest victory margin in the state (72.7 per cent) in 1972.

At the same time Butler won handily over two opponents to succeed Richard H. Poff (R), who resigned to take a seat on the Virginia Supreme Court after withdrawing from consideration for nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Butler again has two opponents in this fall's election but is favored to win reelection, regardless of how he votes on impeachment. "He's just that strong," said a local Democrat.

Butler figures his constituents want the issue resolved swiftly, that there is strong feeling on both sides, but there is no overwhelming consensus for or against impeachment. "But then I may know my district as well as Fulbright knew Arkansas," he observed with a grin, adding that there's no such thing as a safe district this fall.

Before Butler came to Congress in 1972, he spent 10 years in the Virginia General Assembly and, as minority leader of the minuscule GOP contingent in the House of Delegates, was regarded as a fiercely loyal Republican.

But, as a legislator, he was not above quietly voting the Democratic majority when he agreed with its position on a particular issue.

The 49-year-old Butler—whose tall, thin profile is dominated by coal black hair, owlsh glasses and receding chinline at the end of a long, expressive face—counts himself as "one of the aborigines" of Virginia, its southwestern mountain regions and its Republican Party.

Among his ancestors are John Marshall, the nation's first chief justice, and James A. Walker, a mountaineer congressman who got shot during an election campaign in the late 1880s.

A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Richmond, he studied law at the University of Virginia in the company of several other now-prominent Virginians, including U.S. District Judge Albert V. Bryan Jr. and Butler's old political sparring partner, House Majority Leader James M. Thomson (D-Alexandria).

After settling back in Roanoke, Butler joined Linwood Holton, another young attorney who wound up as his



M. CALDWELL BUTLER
... 'common-sense arbiter'

law partner and later as Virginia's first GOP governor in this century, in reorganizing Roanoke's moribund Republican Party.

This, coupled with Republican growth among transplanted Yankees in the Washington suburbs, was the real beginning of the party's resurgence in Virginia, which had been solidly Democratic, since the end of Reconstruction.

In 1961, after an unsuccessful City Council race, Butler won election to the House of Delegates, where he found himself in the lonely company of seven Republicans, out of a total of 140 Assembly members.

Getting the treatment reserved at that time for Republicans and wayward Democrats, he served for six years without appointment to a committee that ever met. "One of my committees was the Currency Committee," he recalls. "If we had ever met, we'd have had a strange hold on the economy."

Butler's partisan role frequently got under the skin of Democrats, as did his rapier-style debating skill, but regard for him crossed party lines.

"Even when we had our differences," said Majority Leader Thomson recently, "I always had a very high regard for his ability and integrity . . . for his good, keen, logical mind and insight."

Thomson still thinks of Butler now and then. "I don't know anything I've chuckled about more than the pickle he's in now," said Thomson.

In Richmond, Butler was regarded as a moderate, a leader of the "mountain-valley boys" who were allied with Holton, often in opposition to the conservative forces that recently took over the Virginia GOP.

But in Congress, largely because of his fiscal views, he is regarded as a conservative, earning a flat zero rating, on a scale of zero to 100, from the liberal Americans for Democratic Action last year.

Butler laughs now about the fact that he wanted to be assigned to the Commerce Committee, rather than Judiciary, "because I wanted to be where the action is." At first, he conceded recently, he thought Judiciary was "a bunch of crazies," but he now says he has great respect for his colleagues, particularly Committee Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. (D-N.J.).

He is sharply critical of committee leaks of documents damaging to the President. "Till the leaks, our image was pretty good but the leaks hurt badly," he said, although he feels "we'll outlive all that."

How does it feel to come from the obscurity of the Republican corner of the Virginia House of Delegates to what may be a pivotal role in the impeachment of the President?

"It is a little frightening," he says. "I'm not waking up in the middle of the night in a cold sweat yet, but it does bother me . . . it's a hard, hard decision."

Or as he put it to Richmond Times-Dispatch columnist Charles McDowell earlier this month: "I don't feel they're saving a little niche over there at the Capitol for Thomas Jefferson, Woodrow Wilson and Caldwell Butler."

'Slavery' Ended For 54 Children

BANGKOK, June 27 (AP)—Police raided a garment factory on the outskirts of Bangkok and freed 54 children who reported they had been held as slaves and frequently beaten.

They were suffering from malnutrition and skin diseases.

GOP Muscle To Woo Voters

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Sixth District Republican Rep. M. Caldwell Butler may have considerable GOP muscle to help him campaign for his reelection bid to the House of Representatives.

Butler confirmed Thursday that he had invited House Minority Leader John Rhodes, R-Ariz., to campaign for the Republican slate, and a Rhodes aide said there was little doubt that he would come.

In addition, Vice President Gerald R. Ford will be the keynote speaker at the Virginia Bar Association's annual judicial conference at the Homestead in Hot Springs on July 20, and there was speculation among Virginia congressional sources that Ford might make a campaign appearance for Butler and other GOP nominees at that time. However, Ford's office said there were no set plans for such an appearance.

Rhodes' office said that Butler had invited the minority leader some time ago but

that no date had yet been set for his appearance.

Butler himself said that he had also invited others to the district for the campaign but did not name them. He said he had talked to Rhodes "on a number of occasions" and said he was hopeful Rhodes would be able to make it because "that's pretty much part of his job."

During a press conference at the Washington Press Club earlier this year, Butler said he would welcome President Nixon to come to the district but that since Butler was a member of the House Judiciary Committee he would not invite the chief executive because it would be "inappropriate."

The Judiciary Committee is considering impeachment of the President.

Butler said Thursday he still would "welcome the President or anybody else that wanted to campaign for me," especially since the impeachment committee's schedule would probably allow less time for campaigning in the district than in other congressional elections.

Butler campaign aides named

J. W. Langhammer, Roanoke businessman and civic leader, today was named chairman of 6th District Rep. M. Caldwell Butler's campaign for reelection.

Butler said that the campaign treasurer will be William R. Holland, accounting officer at Mountain Trust Bank.

Langhammer is secretary-treasurer of Fabricated Metals Industries, Inc. and lives at 2528 Stanley Ave., SE, with his wife, the former Page Muse, and their four children.

He is chairman of the American Cancer Society fund drive and of the Roanoke Central YMCA membership drive, a past president of the Arthritis and Rheumatism Fund and secretary of the Virginia Military Institute alumni association.

Langhammer was chairman of Butler's election campaign in 1972.

Holland lives with his wife



J. W. LANGHAMMER
Appointed chairman



W. R. HOLLAND
Chosen treasurer

and three children at 2425 Rosalind Ave., SW.

Butler described Langhammer and Holland as outstand-

ing businessmen and said he is confident that the management of his campaign is in good hands.

W. N. Mon Jul. 1, 1974

R.T. July 2, 1974

Committee Kills Butler Amendment To Prohibit Large Campaign Loans

By JACK BETTS
Times Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON — A House committee Monday rejected an amendment by a Virginia Republican that was designed to prohibit by law huge loans similar to one that U.S. Sen. William L. Scott received during his 1972 campaign.

Offered by Rep. M. Caldwell Butler to campaign reform legislation approved by the House Administration Committee, it would have limited the amount of loans

that contributors can guarantee in federal elections to \$1,000, but the amendment failed on a 13-8 committee vote.

The committee then unanimously approved the bill, which in part limits all contributions and direct loans from individuals to candidates to \$1,000.

However, the bill does not put any limits on the amounts of loans that candidates may receive from banks when such loans are cosigned—

guaranteed—by other individuals.

While much of the committee bill is aimed at prohibiting direct loans of over \$1,000, Butler spied what he called a "gaping loophole" in the legislation.

He told the Administration Committee members that under the approved bill, an individual could cosign as large a loan as he wished—for instance, \$50,000—for one candidate. But if the candidate were unable to raise the funds to pay off the amount

of the loan, the cosigner would then assume responsibility for the loan and pay it off.

That, Butler said, would be the same thing as making a direct loan for \$50,000, or 50 times the amount allowed by the new bill.

Butler, who has jokingly referred to his amendment as "the Stets Coleman amendment," obliquely referring to J. D. "Stets" Coleman of the The Plains, Va., who loaned Scott \$200,000 during the 1972 campaign. The Coleman loan

was a direct one, and would be outlawed under the new bill.

"We have had a campaign contribution in Virginia like this and as a result it gave a bad name to the political process," Butler argued. But the amendment lost anyway, with the Democrats voting against the measure and Republicans supporting it.

A Butler aide said Monday night that Butler had not decided whether to attempt offering the amendment on the House floor when it comes to a vote there.

Butler leaves for Gathright visit

By FRANK HANCOCK
Environmental Writer

Rep. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke, who has supported the controversial Gathright Dam under construction near Covington, donned old clothes and took off today to take his first look at the site.

Since questions have been raised about the feasibility of completing the dam on the Jackson River because of extensive caverns in the abutment, Butler said today:

"I want to take a firsthand look and assess my responsibility to both the proponents

The World-News

Roanoke, Va., Thursday, July 4, 1974

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and the opponents of the project."

Officials of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers were to escort him through the spectacular Kincaid Gorge area where the dam is being built.

Robert Pond, project engineer for Kemper Frontier

Construction Co., raised the question of both the feasibility of completing the dam and the safety factor after his firm hired private geologists to what he said were caverns more extensive than had been indicated by the Corps of Engineers.

Pond is asking additional money because he says that a concrete wall designed to seal off the caverns will cost much more than his \$4.3 million contract with the engineers and will take more time.

Representatives of the engineers, the prime contractor for the project, Pond's firm and geologists met yesterday in Norfolk to attempt to work out a solution to the problem.

In a joint statement issued after the meeting, the engineers said that the contractor is due "additional monies and time" because of slower progress caused by the caverns.

In addition, the corps says it will pay for the substitution of steel for timber shoring in the construction of the wall to

seal off the caverns.

The statement said that the geologists, Drs. Ronald Heuer and Andrew H. Merritt of Gainesville, Fla., reviewed information which better defined a pattern of caverns and weathered zones which intersect the membrane (wall). The meeting then went on to a discussion of how these patterns might affect the cost and time required to construct the wall.

The statement also quoted Col. Robert E. Ayers, Norfolk District engineer, as saying the engineers have taken Kemper Frontier's contention under advisement and will continue their investigation into the matter of the caverns.

Kemper Frontier is a subcontractor for the Wiley M.

Jackson Co. and the Johnson-Fowler Co., both of Salem, who have the prime contract for the dam.

Ayers said that a suggestion that the dam wall might leak "is speculative and could occur only during infrequently expected high flood stages and, in any case, would not endanger the dam or impair its function for flood control."

Nearly \$20 million already has been spent on the dam, which is expected to cost about \$50 million.

Rep. Butler, who represents the Sixth District, said he had supported appropriations for the dam, including \$6 million for the fiscal year that began July 1, because "it was so far

See Rep. Butler, Pg. 27, Col. 1

Rep. Butler to visit Gathright Dam site

From Page 25

along and seemed to be going well."

Several conservation groups have opposed the dam as something that cannot be justified and would destroy an irreplaceable natural resource.

A suit to halt construction was turned down by Judge Ted Dalton of U. S. District Court in Roanoke and his decision was upheld on an appeal to the U. S. 4th Circuit Court of Appeals.

The statement issued after yesterday's meeting said that

the caverns in the left abutment of the dam have been "the subject of substantial investigation" by engineers and various consultants for several years.

It added that "knowledge of the caverns caused the government to substitute an eight-foot thick concrete membrane in the abutment instead of the more normal treatment which includes grouting or pumping liquid concrete into voids in the rock."

In a letter to the engineers in early June, Pond wrote that caverns that had apparently never been explored, mapped or were unknown to the engineers were discovered by his geologists.

He also told The World-News that there have been only two or three dams constructed in the United States in weathered limestone such as exists at Gathright.

Ford expected Friday for fund raising affair

Lt. Gov. John N. Dalton and other top Virginia Republicans will be here Friday when Vice President Gerald Ford visits Roanoke to help raise funds for two Southwest Virginia congressmen.

The vice president and his party, plus a dozen members of the national media, will arrive at Woodrum Airport at 4:55 p.m., where a brief ceremony will be held.

Ford will then go to Hotel Roanoke, where he will hold a press conference at 5:30.

This will be followed by "An Evening With Vice President Gerald Ford," which will include a reception and light buffet. It will cost \$100 a couple.

Warner N. Dalhouse, executive vice president of the First National Exchange Bank of

Roanoke, is general chairman for the vice president's visit.

Special guests for the Ford visit will be Reps. Caldwell Butler of the 6th Congressional District and William C. Wampler of the 9th. Money raised will go for their re-election campaigns.

Ford apparently is planning no formal talk at the Roanoke affair.

He plans one the following day for the Virginia Bar Association at The Homestead, where he will be introduced by Gov. Mills E. Godwin Jr. Godwin is not expected to attend the Roanoke event, a spokesman at the governor's office said today.

It is not known whether Ford and his party will spend Friday night in Roanoke or go on to

Hot Springs. Rooms have been set aside for him at Hotel Roanoke in case he plans to spend the night there.

Advance men for the vice president were in Roanoke yesterday to make the usual security checks at the hotel and at the airport.

Ford's visit here is one of dozens he has been making throughout the country on behalf of Republican congressional candidates running in the Nov. 5 elections.

Although Ford has not had close ties with Virginia Republicans, it is believed that with former Vice President Spiro Agnew out of the picture Ford is the favorite among the state's Republicans for his party's presidential nomination in 1976.



Gerald R. Ford

W-N - Wed July 17, 74

48 hours notice - Ford Reception
Hotel Roanoke July 17, 1974

Hot and Cold Hors d'Oeuvres

- Figure on 300 -

HOT HORS D'OEUVRES (Trays of 50 Pieces)

✓ Cheese Straws	\$12.00
✓ Lemon Fried Chicken Bits	\$17.50
✓ Anchovettes	\$22.50
✓ Bluettes	\$20.00
✓ Fried Louisiana Shrimp	\$35.00
✓ Southern Fried Frog Legs	\$50.00
✓ Chicken Livers wrapped in bacon	\$18.50
✓ Ham biscuits	\$17.50

Frankfurter in Blanket	\$17.50
✓ Beef or Chicken Teriyaki	\$17.50
Tiny Quiche Lorraine	\$22.00
✓ Swedish Meatballs	\$18.50
Crabmeat Balls	\$22.50
Stuffed Mushroom Caps	\$22.50
Clams Casino	\$37.50
Oyster Rockefeller	\$37.50

COLD HORS D'OEUVRES

ASSORTED CANAPES: Beautifully decorated trays consisting of red caviar, smoked salmon, shrimp, herring, cream cheese, blue cheese, smoked fish, sweet pickles, relish, pimentos, green and black olives and capers. \$20.00

ASSORTED CANAPES WITH MEAT: Trays of canapes consisting of black and red caviar, smoked salmon, shrimp, chicken pate, herring, chicken liver pate, sausage pate, cream cheese, blue cheese, smoked fish, sweet pickles, relish, pimentos, green and black olives and capers. \$25.00

DELUXE CANAPE ASSORTMENT: Trays consisting of 18 canapes each of nova scotia salmon, chicken pate, sausage pate, chicken liver pate and filet of anchovy. \$26.50

CONTINENTAL GOURMET SPECIAL CANAPE TRAYS: These canapes are made on a special black pumpnickel bread and are topped with your choice of the following: Eggs a la Russe - Nova Scotia Salmon - Red Caviar - Anchovy Cravat - Longostino Herring Filet - Chicken Liver Pate - Special Tray Assortment (48 pieces per tray) \$28.00

ADDITIONAL SELECTIONS:

Bowls of Pretzels, Potato Chips	\$2.50 per bowl
✓ Bowls of Salted Mixed Nuts or Peanuts	\$3.00 per bowl
✓ Pyramid of Louisiana Shrimp on Crushed Ice (100 Pieces)	\$50.00
✓ Tray of Fresh Oysters on Crushed Ice (100 Pieces)	\$35.00
✓ Tray of Fresh Clams on Crushed Ice (100 Pieces)	\$35.00
✓ Cheese Platter (Swiss, Cheddar, & Assorted Crackers)	\$15.00
✓ Tray of Assorted Small Finger Sandwiches (50 pieces)	\$20.00
✓ Iced Bowl of Assorted Relishes - Fruit instead?	\$12.50

To the above prices, add 15% gratuity & 4% sales tax. It is necessary for the hotel to receive a guarantee no later than 48 hours prior to the function. Prices are guaranteed for 60 days from



2
12.00
17.50
22.50
17.50
But 17.50
Shrimp 50.00
Cheese Pl. 15.00
20.00
17.50
7.50
For
300 -
apric 7 pieces
Food \$ 688.00
Tip 103.00
31.65
822.25
\$274 per
person
for food
Set up
Bas.
2.39
\$2.50 per bowl
\$3.00 per bowl
\$50.00
\$35.00
\$35.00
\$15.00
\$20.00
\$12.50
Melon Balls + Strawberry 17.50
7-10 PM
\$5.36 - Total
+ whiskey

PRESSURES MOUNT ON G.O.P. IN PANEL

N.Y. TIMES

Impeachment Committee's
Undecided Members Face
a Day of Reckoning
18 JULY 74 pp. 1, 21

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 17 —

The second-ranking Republican on the House Judiciary Committee said today that it might be "suicidal" for members of President Nixon's party to vote for a recommendation that the President be impeached.

But the Republican, Representative Robert McClory of Illinois, declared that he would ignore the perils to his own political future if he decided that Mr. Nixon should be held accountable for "wrongdoing taking place right under the President's nose."

Mr. McClory's remarks, in a conversation with reporters, illustrated the growing pressures being faced by Republican members of the Judiciary Committee as they approach the panel's day of reckoning with impeachment.

The committee heard testimony today from its final witness, Herbert W. Kalmbach, the President's former personal attorney. Tomorrow it will re-

Continued on Page 21, Column 5

G.O.P. Members of Panel Feel Pressures on Vote

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

ceive what James D. St. Clair, Mr. Nixon's chief defense lawyer, described as the White House "closing argument" against impeachment.

By the next week, after the inquiry staff presents an outline of the evidence and the committee formally debates its import, the 21 Democrats and 17 Republicans are expected to cast their first vote on impeachment.

The proximity of that conclusive vote has apparently led to intense political pressure on those Republican members of the committee who, like Mr. McClory, contend that they are undecided whether impeachment would be warranted by the evidence.

One Republican, who asked not to be identified, said that colleagues on the committee who had decided to oppose impeachment were trying to put pressure on the undecided members to join in a solid Republican bloc.

Other Republicans, such as Representative Tom Railsback of Illinois, have reported that the anti-impeachment mail they receive has become more voluminous than pro-impeachment mail.

An upstate New York Republican, who is not a member of the Judiciary Committee but whose experience typifies what those on the panel are undergoing, reported that two long-time campaign contributors — a Republican who opposes impeachment and a Democrat who favors it — had warned separately that their future financial backing would be contingent on the Congressman's impeachment vote.

Pressure From Wife

Representative M. Caldwell Butler, Republican of Virginia, said today that he had not been subjected to undue pressure from constituents in his stanchly Republican district and was, accordingly, still open-minded on impeachment.

But Mr. Butler's wife, June, has sought to influence his vote — reportedly in favor of impeachment — by reading to him at bedtime from "All the President's men," the book in which two Washington Post reporters described their efforts to plumb the Watergate depths.

Representative Hamilton Fish Jr., Republican of upstate New York, has told reporters of being dogged by another form of family pressure. His father,



Herbert W. Kalmbach, left, Mr. Nixon's former personal attorney, with Robert McClory, Republican committee member, before Mr. Kalmbach testified yesterday.

The New York Times

Hamilton Fish Sr., is an officer of a group of citizens who urge in newspaper advertisements that the President not be impeached. Each advertisement, the Congressman said, invariably produces angry complaints from constituents who mistakenly conclude that the younger Mr. Fish has decided to oppose impeachment.

The significance of the half-dozen or so undecided committee Republicans is that Democrats, virtually all of whom are expected to recommend impeachment, have said that bipartisan support would be essential if the committee finding is to be persuasive on the House floor.

Expects Unanimity

In a statement that some inquiry officials interpreted as a form of subtle pressure on the undecideds, Representative Charles E. Wiggins of California said yesterday that he expected all 16 of his Republican committee colleagues to join him in voting against impeachment.

But Mr. Railsback said that he and "at least" three others — William S. Cohen of Maine, Mr. Butler and Mr. Fish — would remain undecided until they had heard White House and committee lawyers argue the merits of the case. Mr. Cohen stated that Mr. Wiggins was not speaking for him. Representative Henry P. Smith 3d of upstate New York insisted he was "persuadable" either way.

And Mr. McClory, whose public statements have alternated between defense and criticism of Mr. Nixon, agonized aloud at a recess in today's

hearing about the burden of the forthcoming decision.

"It would be a very difficult decision for me" to vote for impeachment, he said, adding, "But I'm not going to rule it out because of the difficulty or because of the suicidal aspects involved."

Worried by Defiance

He said that he was troubled by two aspects of the Watergate affair. The first, Mr. McClory noted, was the President's defiance of Judiciary Committee subpoenas for White House tape recordings and other evidence.

"I don't see how we can excuse that kind of concealment of vital evidence," he said.

Moreover, he added, he is concerned that "so many of those who were in the White House are now in jail or have completed their terms or are awaiting sentencing."

"There was obviously wrongdoing taking place right under the President's nose and I'm very concerned," said Mr. McClory. "Is that any way to run a White House?"

Asked whether those two matters would merit impeachment, replied ruefully, "that's something I'm going to have to decide."

Some Republicans on the committee have begun to follow an earlier suggestion by Mr. Wiggins that Congress, as an alternative to impeachment, should devise new laws that would curb excesses in the executive branch.

Representative David W. Dennis, Republican of Indiana, said today that he considered himself undecided but that he thought impeachment was "radical surgery" to be used only in

the face of overwhelming evidence of Presidential abuse.

"What we really ought to be doing is thinking about some remedial legislation," Mr. Dennis added.

Most of the currently ambivalent Republicans said that their attitude, when the vote came, would be colored to a large extent by the White House and committee staff arguments.

Mr. St. Clair said that his final argument tomorrow in defense of the President would center on the Watergate case and would make three principal points—that Mr. Nixon had no prior knowledge of plans for the Watergate burglary, that he did not direct the payment of alleged hush money to Watergate burglars and that the President, rather than engaging in a cover up, had pressed for full disclosure of the facts of the scandal.

The New York Times reported today that the committee's special counsel, John M. Doar, whose presentation will follow Mr. St. Clair's, would outline legal theories and evidence that would support a recommendation of various articles of impeachment.

Va. GOP turning affections to Ford

W-N
Jul 18
1974

By OZZIE OSBORNE
Political Writer

Virginia Republicans appear to have switched their affections from Spiro Agnew to his successor, Vice President Gerald Ford.

That, at least, is the impression gained from talks with more than a dozen prominent Republican politicians.

And most see Ford as the 1976 Republican presidential nominee, despite his claims that he's not interested in running.

The consensus, too, is that Ford has helped himself immeasurably by the dozens of appearances he has been making throughout the country on behalf of GOP candidates.

Ford is coming to Roanoke today on a campaign swing in behalf of Republican congressional candidates William Wampler of the Ninth District and Caldwell Butler of the Sixth District. He is expected to arrive by plane at 4:55 p.m. at Woodrum Airport.

But Del. Ray L. Garland of Roanoke, candidate for U.S. Senate in 1970, said he feels Ford has "squandered his political capital" by being overly helpful to others.

Garland said that he meant that Ford has dissipated some of his strength by doing so much speaking in which he has had to defend President Nixon's position, while at the same time not compromising his own.

He said other prospective presidential candidates haven't had to put themselves on the line, or as Garland put it, "they have been quiet as a tomb."

Of Ford, he said: "He has converted himself into an air raid shelter for the Republican party."

But most Republicans interviewed seemed to share the feeling expressed by Sen. David F. Thornton of Salem, who said:

"Most of the Republicans I've talked to in Virginia feel Ford would be their No. 1 choice . . . he is coming across strong."

He said Ford's statement that he is not interested in being the GOP presidential nominee in 1976 is the sort that could be expected of one in his position.

"Times and circumstances change," said Thornton so the

Ford statement "must be taken with a grain of salt."

Del. Vincent Callahan of Fairfax, leader of the Republican minority in the General Assembly, said Ford would have to be considered the leading presidential contender for the GOP nomination.

"We're looking for a winner and he has all the credentials," said Callahan.

Del. Ray Robrecht of Roanoke County said that Ford's votes in Congress showed his

political philosophy is in tune with that of most Virginians.

"Most Virginians feel comfortable with him," said Robrecht.

Sen. H. D. Dawbarn of Waynesboro said that Ford "has got to be considered the front-runner" for the GOP presidential nomination in 1976.

Oddly, few of those interviewed had little to say about

See VA., Pg. 20, Col. 1

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The World-News, Roanoke, Va., 1

Va. GOP turning affections to Ford

From Page 17

any potential GOP presidential nominees other than Ford.

Garland mentioned Nelson Rockefeller, former governor of New York, and U.S. Sen. Charles H. Percy of Illinois.

Nobody brought up the name of Gov. Ronald Reagan of California.

Garland said he thinks any struggle for nomination will be between Ford and Rockefeller and said he feels it "highly likely" that in a showdown Ford would step aside for Rockefeller.

"If the party is in a desperate position in 1976—as seems likely—it may want a new face," said Garland. He said Rockefeller could well be it.

Rockefeller had some strength in Virginia when he sought the GOP presidential nomination in 1968, getting two of Virginia's 24 votes at the national convention. One of these was cast by Mrs. Cynthia Newman, the state's GOP national committeewoman.

Before his resignation, Agnew was extremely popular with Virginia Republicans—more popular, some said, than even President Nixon.

"A particularly attentive listener, prodigious note taker, and a very efficient operator."

M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va.



James D. St. Clair

Nixon's Lawyer Represents The Office, Not the Man

New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON — "I don't represent Mr. Nixon personally; I represent him in his capacity as president," James Draper St. Clair said in an interview two months after he became President Nixon's lawyer.

This classical lawyer's detachment parallels what has been a principal theme in his client's own defense: Nixon has said that he is fighting to preserve not himself but the Presidency. St. Clair has said he does not represent Nixon "individually" but rather "the office of the presidency." But he has made it clear that, as long as he is Nixon's counsel, he is committed to him entirely. "I only reflect the President's views," he said recently when he was asked if a statement did just that.

The 54-year-old lawyer was criticized by a former client, the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, as being "all case and no cause," a stance that he has maintained through his first five months as the President's defense counsel. It also is a posture in the tradition of such notable lawyers as the late John W. Davis, who during his long career argued both sides in civil rights cases with equal eloquence.

Smiling, imperturbably good-natured and courteous, St. Clair has made no secret of the fact that he would rather be back in Boston practicing law in the prestigious firm of Hale & Dorr, from which he resigned as a partner to accept his present \$42,500-a-year position.

Man in the News

But few believe that he will not stay with his client until the end of the case, if only because his withdrawal would be so damaging to Nixon.

Not that there has been even the smallest indication from St. Clair that he has any doubts about the case or his client. On the contrary, he has said that he believes in Nixon's innocence while calmly holding to his own self-definition. "I have noticed a lot of people feel I should be making presidential decisions," he said in reply to a question on a recent television question-and-answer program. "I don't have that authority nor do I have that real capability."

He added, in reply to a following question: "Ultimately the President, as the client, has the ultimate decision to make: as a lawyer, I advise him."

"I don't think he's ever surrendered an inch of his client's position," was part of an assessment of St. Clair made by Robert W. Meserve, a former president of the American Bar Association who has tried cases against St. Clair.

And that describes St. Clair in his present role. He has contested every allegation, sought to narrow the charges and discredit the prosecution's witnesses and stressed that it is the

presidency, not the man, that is at stake.

As the tempo has quickened, St. Clair's weekend trips home to the Boston suburb of Wellesley Hills have become less frequent; his wife of 30 years, the former Asenath Nestle — known as Billie — has occasionally come to Washington for a weekend to join him at the Madison Hotel, where he has been living since he took the case in January. The St. Clairs have three children.

St. Clair, born in Akron, Ohio, April 14, 1920, graduated from the University of Illinois in 1941.

After one term at Harvard Law School, he joined the Navy for the duration of the war. Then he returned to Harvard and graduated in 1947.

He joined Hale & Dorr, working under Joseph N. Welch, who served as special counsel for the United States Army during the 1954 Army-McCarthy hearings. St. Clair was an assistant counsel during those televised hearings, which were as popular with the nation's television audience in their day as were last year's Watergate hearings — and as the Judiciary Committee's hearings are likely to be.

St. Clair has been described by one member of the committee, M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., as "a particularly attentive listener, prodigious notetaker, and a very efficient operator."

Former Roanoke Man To Defend President

By JACK BETTS

Times Washington Bureau
WASHINGTON — Republicans of the House Judiciary Committee, angered with the performance of minority counsel Albert Jenner, have tabbed former Roanoke Commonwealth's Atty. Samuel A. Garrison III to organize the anti-impeachment view in the coming committee debate on articles of impeachment.

Garrison, who served as an assistant to former Vice President Spiro T. Agnew before his resignation in a Maryland kick-back scandal, is deputy minority counsel of the House Impeachment Committee and has reflected many of the members' strong support of the President during the committee's deliberations.

Rep. Edward Hutchinson, R-Michigan, the committee's ranking Republican, instructed Garrison to begin devising the GOP point of view for the debate but Illinois Republican Rep. Robert McClory, the second ranking minority member, circulated a resolution, ultimately signed by all but one of the 17 Republicans, directing Garrison to proceed.

Rep. Del Latta, R-Ohio, was the lone Republican not to sign the document.

Meanwhile, Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke, also a Republican and Virginia's lone representative on the commit-

tee, reasserted to reporters that he is undecided as to how he will vote on the impeachment question.

Butler, chatting with a group of reporters off the House floor Wednesday, said he had not yet decided what offenses might constitute an impeachable offense, but said he would "have to have something more than 'probable cause'"—but not necessarily beyond a reasonable doubt—to vote for an impeachment resolution.

And, Butler said, he is not helping draft impeachment articles nor assisting Garrison in the anti-impeachment move.

Minority Counsel Jenner has been under fire from Republican partisans almost from the moment he was hired by the committee last January, when it was disclosed that Jenner had cohosted a breakfast for Illinois Democrat Sen. Adlai Stevenson III. That particularly angered McClory, an Illinois Republican, and led to an earlier but abortive attempt to fire Jenner.

Ironically, Committee Chief Counsel John Doar is a Republican, but the GOP members have found no solace in either Doar's or Jenner's actions. Both, they complain, have been overly objective in their investigation.

While Jenner remains employed by the committee, the resolution has the effect of

making Garrison the Republicans' No. 1 counsel.

His position ostensibly is to prepare arguments both for and against impeachment, but ranking Republicans believe he will concentrate on the anti-impeachment arguments while the Democratic staff is drafting from four to six articles of impeachment.

Butler, who signed the resolution directing Garrison to present the GOP view, said, "Sam's going to do what the minority counsel would do in any proceeding—to make sure the view presented by the counsel for the a majority has a proper response."

Butler noted that Garrison has been employed by the committee longer than Jenner, and that he has a closer relationship with the Republicans on the committee.

"He has their respect, and they are looking to him to make sure the minority view has the benefit of the expertise of the staff," Butler said.

Turning to a possible vote for impeachment, Butler said that would depend in large part on the "style and judgment of the articles and I'll just have to wait and see what is drafted."

Democratic staff members are preparing the proposed articles in several different

See Page 32, Col. 3



HAND SQUEEZES — Vice President Gerald R. Ford squeezes the hands of admirers greeting him at Woodrum Airport in Roanoke yesterday. He attended a fundraising dinner for Republican Rep. M. Caldwell Butler (background), a member of the House Judiciary Committee. (Story Page B-1).

THE ROANOKE TIME

Thursday, July 18, 1974

Ford Says Ziegler's Wrong

ROANOKE (UPI) — Disagreeing with White House press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler, Vice President Gerald R. Ford said Friday he would not describe the House Judiciary Committee as a "kangaroo court."

Ford was asked at a news conference about Ziegler's statement earlier in the day that special counsel John M. Doar and Judiciary Committee chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. were conducting a kangaroo court.

"Rodino as chairman of that committee has done his utmost to handle it in a fair way," Ford

said. "You would certainly not call the manner in which that committee has operated a kangaroo court."

"Of course," the vice president said, "There are some members of that committee that decided on impeachment before they even saw the evidence, but that's understandable."

Doar presented proposed articles of impeachment to the Judiciary Committee earlier in the day and was quoted as saying, "Reasonable men acting reasonably would find the President guilty."

However, Ford said, "I still

don't think there is enough evidence to impeach the President."

Ford was in Roanoke to address a reception for Republican Reps. M. Caldwell Butler and William C. Wampler. Butler is a member of the Judiciary Committee.

Ford was asked if he would refuse to campaign for any member of the committee who voted for impeachment and replied, "I'm not predicated my support for a Republican on that one vote."

"Naturally, I would hope a Republican or discerning

Democrat would not vote for impeachment."

After landing at Roanoke's Woodrum Airport, Ford quickly stopped his motorcade before leaving the airport and jumped from the car to shake hands and exchange greetings with about 50 persons.

At the driveway of the Hotel Roanoke, there were four youths with a large sign with red lettering saying: "Impeach Nixon."

The vice president plans a three-day stay in Virginia, traveling to Hot Springs from Roanoke to address the Virginia Bar Association tonight. He plans to golf and relax at Hot Springs Sunday before returning to Washington.

Virginia projects has been impounded by the Nixon administration, Atty. Gen. Andrew P. Miller notes in the suit. "Because of the 30- to 45-month lead time required for planning, design and actual construction of waste treatment projects, Virginia and her political subdivisions could not meet the July 1, 1977, deadline, even if all funds impounded ... were now immediately released and applied to projects delayed because of the impoundment," the suit adds.

In a briefing on the suit, the spokesman said that without relief from the deadline requirements, municipal and state officials would be subject to criminal and civil action if the deadline is not met. The Federal Water Pollution Act provides for fines up to \$25,000 for the first day the deadline is not met, and a fine up to \$50,000 for the second day.

In addition to seeking a release from the requirements of the act, Virginia is petitioning to have the impounded funds released.

Ford visit may affect Butler's ouster vote

By FRED BARNES

Washington Star-News

HOT SPRINGS — Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., discovered to his delight several weeks ago that Vice President Ford was scheduled to come to this mountain resort for a speech and a few rounds of golf.

Perhaps Ford would stop in nearby Roanoke and address a Butler fundraising rally, thought Butler, who has gained prominence recently as a Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee who is undecided on whether to vote for the impeachment of President Nixon.

Butler wrote a brief letter to the vice president, and Ford readily agreed to appear in the congressmen's behalf in Roanoke on Friday.

Because the committee was expected to vote on the impeachment issue in a week or so, the Ford visit took on considerable importance. It also made Butler politically indebted to Ford, the party's most

An article of analysis and opinion intended to help interpret and clarify the news.

sought-after campaign speaker.

As a result of such political debts, the vice president is the administration official with the greatest clout in getting the committee's 17 Republicans to support Nixon.

Ford is a vigorous backer of the President in the impeachment struggle, having declared repeatedly that there is not enough evidence against Nixon to warrant his impeachment.

In recent weeks, Ford has committed himself to make campaign appearances for four of the wavering Republicans, including Butler.

Ford has said that his appearances were not connected with the impeachment battle and that he did not plan to wage "an arm-twisting lobbying effort" aimed at convincing Republicans to stick with Nixon.

The most he will do, Ford

added, is express his view on impeachment if any committee member is not sure where he stands on the issue.

Although Butler did not ask him for this view, the congressman got it anyway on Friday. As Butler stood near Ford at a news conference, the vice president told newsmen: "Naturally I would hope that a Republican as well as a discerning Democrat would vote against impeachment."

Ford asserted that he intended to be "highly selective" in scheduling campaign appearances and may even stay out of some districts where the Democratic candidate is a good one. Observers were astonished at this statement, since the vice president had not previously been "selective" among his party's candidates, and had never supported a Democrat.

The first Kiwanis Club was organized in Detroit in 1915. The name is from an Indian word, "Kee-wanis," meaning "to make oneself known."

\$10,000 paid ^{W-N} ^{July 22} ¹⁹⁷⁴ to eat with Ford

The Republican fund-raising dinner attended by Vice President Gerald Ford Friday night at Hotel Roanoke grossed slightly more than \$10,000.

But this figure will be cut sharply—perhaps by one-half—when all the bills have been toted up, according to local party officials.

The money netted from the affair will be divided 50-50 between Reps. Caldwell Butler of the 6th Congressional District and William C. Wampler of the 9th.

More than 200 paid \$50 per person to attend the Ford affair. In addition, 70 press people attended as guests of the Republicans.

Other expenses incurred by the sponsoring Republicans included paying for advance and Secret Service personnel, many of whom stayed at Hotel Roanoke for three days.

While they were here the third floor of the hotel was blocked off for security reasons, with only two maids and two maintenance men allowed there.

Quarters were set aside for Ford and his party in case he wanted to stay in Roanoke Friday night. The vice presidential group, however, left for Hot Springs shortly after 8 p.m. where he spoke to the Virginia Bar Association Saturday night.

While none of the Republican officials here said so, it appeared almost certain that the vice president would be asked to come back to the 6th—and perhaps go to the 9th—during this fall's congressional campaigns.

Ford said he was going to campaign for "selected Republicans" this fall and emphasized strongly that he'd like to work for Butler if asked.

The vice president said he'll be willing to campaign for Butler even if he votes for the impeachment of President Nixon. Butler is a member of the House Judiciary Committee, which is now involved in impeachment proceedings.

Highlights of Comments by Committee Members

M. Caldwell Butler
JULY 26 1974 R-Va. WASH. STAR-NEWS

There are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President of the United States. Because we will be in this impeachment proceeding establishing a standard of conduct for the President of the United States which will for all time be a matter of public record.

If we fail to impeach, we have condoned and left unpunished a course of conduct totally inconsistent with the reasonable expectations of the American people; we will have condoned and left unpun-

ished a presidential course of conduct designed to interfere with and obstruct the very process which he is sworn to uphold; and we will have condoned and left unpunished an abuse of power totally without justification. And we will have said to the American people: "These misdeeds are inconsequential and unimportant."

In short, power appears to have corrupted. It is a sad chapter in American history, but I cannot condone what I have heard; I cannot excuse it, and I cannot and will not stand still for it.

Mr. Chairman, while I still reserve my final judgment, I would be less than candid if I did not now say that my present inclination is to support articles incorporating my view of the charges of obstruction of justice and abuse of power; but there will be no joy in it for me.

Butler stand

ON JUNE 27, Congressman M. Caldwell Butler cast his vote against a crucial amendment to the HEW and Labor Department appropriations bill (HR 15580). This amendment would have prohibited the use of federal money for abortion payments, abortion referrals, abortion promotion, and abortion research. Two very glaring facts are evident.

First, federal money, that is our tax money, is being and will be spent profligately on abortion research, pro-abortion litigation, and Medicaid payments for abortion. In regard to Medicaid payments, Rep. Angelo Roncallo (R-N.Y.), who introduced the amendment, pointed out that over eight million Medicaid dollars had been paid out for abortions in one recent 16-month period in New York and California alone. Mr. Butler, who has indicated his concern for governmental economy, evidently feels the taxes used to pay for the destruction of our next generation are wisely spent.

Second, we may deduce that Mr. Butler, who has promised many of his constituents to have an open mind on the question of a right-to-life amendment, was either speaking platonically or has now closed his mind. How can we expect him to support a right-to-life amendment, which would outlaw abortion per se, when he votes for continued spending of our federal taxes in support of abortion programs and even direct abortion payments.

Taxpayers and voters of the Sixth District may not thank Mr. Butler for his stand on spending our money for such purposes but at least we may thank him for finally making his position clear. We know that he is pro-abortion and in favor of spending tax monies to promote abortion. We know this and on election day we will remember it.

HENRY B. LARZELERE, M.D.

Lynchburg

Restoring Esteem For Politicians

By Mary McGrory
Star-News Staff Writer

The impeachment debate has given the Republicans on the House Judiciary Committee an excruciating opportunity. Under painful circumstances, they are demonstrating vividly that not all members of their party are arrogant, greedy and vindictive.

Those Republicans who would impeach are more anguished and angry than the Democrats, and more immersed in the evidence. They unaffectedly reveal their chagrin — and also their patriotism, conscience and reverence for the Constitution.

Only one of their number, Rep. Wiley Mayne of Iowa, stooped to pettiness. At the first opportunity, one of his brothers put him down hard for his mean suggestion that Lyndon Johnson, another man who grew rich in the presidency, should have been impeached.

WITH FEW exceptions, the members on both sides have risen to the occasion. The level of the debate has been so elevated, and its tone so civil, that it is not too much to say that if maintained it could lead to a restoration of public esteem for politicians generally. All officeholders are manifestly not clowns, hypocrites or nit-pickers.

Republicans all over the country may take heart as they contemplate the handsome young scholar from Maine, William S. Cohen, the benign aristocrat from New York, Hamilton Fish Jr., and

Point of View

Tom Railsback of Illinois, a man of deep feeling and manifest good will.

And listening to the fiery accents of M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia, who stood up to the ogre, looked it in the eye and said, "Watergate is our shame," they heard once again the splendid moral outrage that has been denied them for the last two years, because of its total absence in the White House.

"THESE THINGS happened in the Republican administration while we had a Republican in the White House, and every single person convicted to date has one way or the other owed allegiance to the Republican party," he cried, to the astonishment of many in the hearing room who had never before seen him open his mouth. "These things have happened in our house and it is our responsibility to do what we can to clear it up."

Rep. Lawrence Hogan, of Maryland, who beat the rush by announcing his intention to vote for impeachment, and was promptly knifed by the White House as an opportunist, made an impressive review of the evidence, reproached his fellows for seeking "an arrow in the heart," bade them look at the mosaic of evil.

See McGRORY, A-6

Continued from Page A-1'

Even the President's most rabid loyalist, David Dennis of Indiana, who hitherto has always addressed the chairman in a furious screech, composed himself and gave an entirely rational presentation of the transgressions. He offered the arguable thesis that reform of political institutions is a better answer than "prosecuting an imperfect president who probably represents us in our strengths and weaknesses."

Rep. Harold Froelich of Wisconsin, a stumpy freshman who took some ritual conservative swipes at the press and the committee staff, outlined his concern for missing tapes, undelivered tapes and tape gaps. He bit his lip, his voice choked, as he concluded wretchedly, "I am concerned about impeaching my President for his actions."

MISERY loves company, and the Republicans have it in the Southern Democrats, who are much more beholden to Richard Nixon for regional favors and were expected to cling to him to the end.

Rep. James Mann, D-S.C., whose pale face seems carved in marble, made a moving speech about "the men who have died for our system on the battlefield and men who have ended their careers on behalf of the system."

And Rep. Walter Flowers, D-Ala., who wears an American flag pin on his lapel and dwells in Wallace country, told how he wakes up at night and thinks it must be "a sordid dream" that he is contemplating impeachment. He bleakly stated the dilemma: Would it be more destructive of all we hold dear to impeach the President than not to impeach him?

From time to time, someone warns that impeachment will "tear the country apart." As the process unfolds in the hearing room, it seems more likely to bring it together. For the coalition which elected Richard Nixon, Republicans and Southern Democrats, has now re-formed to remove him from office.

They will not only vote for it, they will sell it on the floor of the House. From their appearance so far, they appear quite capable of making it "impeachment with honor."

Boston Globe
~~June~~ July 27, '74



Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia takes it easy for a while during a night session last Thursday. (AP)

'Southern strategy' founders in panel

By Martha Angle
Washington Star-News

WASHINGTON — The "Southern strategy" which President Nixon pursued in his 1968 campaign — and revived for the impeachment struggle — appears to have foundered in the House Judiciary Committee.

As the committee prepared to vote on articles of impeachment, all but one of its Southern members sadly served notice they cannot condone the conduct of the President who captured the support of so many of their constituents in two successive elections.

Only Rep. Trent Lott (R-Miss.) remained firmly in the Nixon camp after

the committee had concluded two days of general debate.

Not all of the remaining Southerners — Reps. Walter Flowers (D-Ala.), James R. Mann (D-S.C.), Ray Thornton (D-Ark.), M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.), and Jack Brooks (D-Tex.) — committed themselves flatly in favor of impeachment.

But they came pretty close, and their often anguished summations of the evidence and personal declarations of conscience is significant.

For months now, Mr. Nixon has been courting Southern Democrats whose conservative voting habits coincide in most cases with his own politi-

cal philosophy and policies.

The President needs the Southerners, and all but a score or so of the House Republicans, to escape impeachment. But defections from both groups within the Judiciary Committee appear to bode ill for his chances on the House floor.

It was Mr. Caldwell Butler, a conservative Republican from Virginia — a state more accustomed to breeding presidents than breaking them — who delivered one of the stiffest blows to Mr. Nixon during Thursday's debate.

"If we fail to impeach," he said, "we will have condoned and left unpunished a presidential

course of conduct designed to interfere with and obstruct the very process which he is sworn to uphold; and we will have condoned and left unpunished an abuse of power totally without justification."

Rep. Richardson Preyer (D-N.C.) did not hear Butler's speech himself, but he said, "I heard from several Southerners that it was very, very good. I think it had quite an impact."

Preyer and Rep. Walter B. Jones, another North Carolina Democrat, said House members from their area are "watching the committee debate with rapt attention."

Butler's speech clearly had an impact on his Virginia colleagues, who comprise one of the most conservative state delegations in the House.

"Obviously it will have some influence on me and others in the delegation," said Rep. William C. Wampler (R-Va.) whose 9th District has the strongest and longest Republican tradition of any in the state.

"Caldwell is a man of great integrity and ability. He is held in very high regard as a person and because he is a member of

Mr. Nixon's legal house falls

In retrospect, one of the most interesting portions of the oral arguments in the case of United States vs. Richard Nixon was the exchange between Associate Justice Thurgood Marshall and James St. Clair, the President's attorney.

"If we can't find it in the Constitution," Marshall asked, referring to the notion of absolute executive privilege, "what happens to your argument?"

"Then, if your honor please," said St. Clair, "that portion of the argument is lost as far as this court is concerned."

The Supreme Court, in an historical 8-0 decision, has ruled against the President's and St. Clair's contention that an absolute executive privilege shields a president from both the judicial and the congressional branches in all proceedings short of impeachment. The court, in the decision written by Nixon-appointed Warren Burger, didn't say that such a privilege doesn't exist; it said, simply stated, that it is not absolute, that the "demands of due process of law in the fair administration of criminal justice" take precedence over executive privilege. And so, in effect, St. Clair's elaborate structure has been toppled.

The high court has thus asserted, in clear language, what many other presidents and many constitutional experts have maintained: That executive privilege, an extra-constitutional "tradition," stops at the point where White House documents are required in a criminal proceeding.

As the special prosecutor, Leon Jaworski, put it in his written arguments before the court: Executive privilege "exists only to protect and promote the legitimate conduct of the nation's affairs."

The powers that Mr. St. Clair claimed for the President, in both written and oral arguments, were so sweeping as to be in-

distinguishable, to many, from those of a sovereign: Absolute immunity from judicial orders and the criminal process and absolute discretion to choose presidential materials. Mr. St. Clair's contention that the only remedy against presidential abuse was impeachment left the court with the curious argument that a president could be impeached but he could withhold materials that might lead to such impeachment.

The court rejected that line of reasoning, and the President announced last night that he would release additional materials related to the coverup trial. (St. Clair's statement last night, however, led to speculation that the release process might be painfully drawn out. That would be a mistake. The court wants the materials for its trial, not its archives.) The picture of a discredited president taking on the highest court in the land would not have been one to evoke much sympathy or one designed to help his cause in impeachment proceedings in Congress. The "law and order" president is stuck with the proposition in *Marbury vs. Madison* (1803) that the Supreme Court is the final arbiter of the Constitution and the law.

But his release of the tapes is not likely to pull the President out of his current power dive. The ripples from the court decision are already lapping at Congress.

A major defection by Rep. Lawrence Hogan of Maryland, a Republican and formerly a staunch friend of the administration, who said the President has "lied repeatedly" and that he would vote for impeachment as a member of the House Judiciary Committee . . . the disenchantment evident among other Republicans on the committee and in the House in general . . . the undermining of the main presidential argument (executive privilege), in all of its various guises, through the court decision—all are signals that the President's plans are coming unraveled, that the critical point of judgment is nearing.

Editorials

THE ROANOKE TIMES

Thursday, July 25, 1974

The United States Government

'Of Laws and Not of Men'

The Supreme Court's unanimous ruling yesterday in President Nixon's Watergate tape case reins in an aggressive President and points the nation back towards a proper coordination and separation of powers. The court ruled the President must furnish Special Prosecutor Jaworski those tapes required in a criminal prosecution.

The court did not rule upon, and therefore left standing, the Watergate grand jury's designation of Richard M. Nixon as an unindicted co-conspirator in the alleged Watergate cover-up.

Chief Justice Burger's opinion is in accord with the first great constitutional case on the question, *Marbury v. Madison*. There Chief Justice John Marshall ruled: *It is emphatically the duty of the judicial department to say what the law is.* It accords with the most recent decision, one involving President Truman's seizure of the steel industry during the Korean war. There Justice Robert Jackson wrote, in a concurring opinion: *To contend that the obligation imposed on the President to see that the laws are faithfully executed, implies a power to forbid*

their execution, is a novel construction of the Constitution, and entirely inadmissible.

Will President Nixon obey the order? His statement last night, read by his lawyer, suggested he will. But it contained the tantalizing statement about the "time-consuming process" of transcribing the tapes. That suggests, against the suspicious background, that Mr. Nixon may still be listening to Ron Ziegler and Dean Burch, that one more go round of delay may be ahead.

It can only be hoped that for once President Nixon will accede to good advice on Watergate. Had he done so even as late as six months ago he might not now be facing the ultimate personal tragedy. The nation might not have reached the peril point from which it is being rescued by the Supreme Court and the impeachment powers of Congress.

Whatever sympathy may be due a woefully mistaken President is balanced by a unanimous reassurance that the United States government is indeed what John Marshall said it was: "a government of laws, and not of men."

Richmond

Caldwell Butler's Instant Fame

Times-Dir
Sunday,
July 21

WASHINGTON — Congressman M. Caldwell Butler, the Republican freshman from Roanoke, has his picture in Time, Newsweek and U.S. News this week. It is difficult to bring off a triple like that without doing something sensational on the national scene, like at least getting indicted. Butler did it merely by remaining "undecided" about the impeachment of President Nixon.

He is one of the five, six or maybe it's eight Republicans on the House Judiciary Committee who obviously are giving serious thought to voting for impeachment. The count varies with different observers, and Lawrence Hogan, a Nixon man from Maryland, threw some of the counts off the other day by coming out publicly for impeachment before there was a consensus that he had become undecided.

Anyhow, any Republican vote for impeachment in the committee would have much more impact on the whole House than a

Democratic vote, assumptions about partisan bias being what they are. It is conceivable that a vote for impeachment by a Southern conservative Republican like Caldwell Butler would have the most impact of all.

The Virginian attracts attention, too, by the way he handles the pressures of his position. He continues to be a droll, somewhat courtly but comfortably plain freshman from Roanoke. He has impressed his colleagues as a keen and conscientious lawyer but one who manages not to dazzle himself. If he has any pretensions they fall into the category of good-old-boyisms, which tend not to grate.



McDowell

All the publicity astonishes him and he is interested in it, but he had no trouble telling a television network that he is too busy to be a famous American on the news tonight.

The Washington Post and the Star-News have discovered Butler fairly recently and written a lot about him. The New York Times tracks him almost as closely as the Roanoke Times. Butler was not greatly unsettled to learn the other afternoon, when he returned to his office after a long committee session, that he had had 20 calls from the press and the BBC was on hold from London.

BUTLER HAS BEEN RECEIVING up to 200 letters a day recently. More than 150 of them typically have come from outside Virginia. After a wave of pro-Nixon mail, most of it now is calling for impeachment. The policy in the office has been to concentrate on the Virginia mail, giving specific replies to specific questions — except to the question of how he is going to vote. This week Butler proclaimed a sort of deliberative period and began simply acknowledging letters and telling writers he would try to explain his vote to them after he casts it.

Some of the letters from Nixon supporters have been very strong, even abusive. How could a good Republican and decent American even consider voting with those liberal devils against our great President, and does he realize such a betrayal would forfeit the writer's support forever? That sort of thing.

"I've been just telling them that they've got to do what they've got to do, and I've got to do what I've got to do," Butler said.

He had been up early that morning meeting with several others of the "undecided" Republicans before a committee session. Four or five of them have been meeting privately right along and have brought in a committee staff lawyer to help them

Continued on Page 10, Col. 1

Caldwell Butler's Instant Fame

Continued From First Page

assess and theorize about the kind of articles of impeachment that would come close to suiting their views of the available evidence.

Butler said Chief Counsel John Doar's summary presentation of evidence to the full committee had been "impressive." He said James St. Clair's arguments for the President had been helpful, too, but the two presentations in combinations tended to highlight the importance of the White House tape recordings that the President had refused to turn over to the committee.

"Yes, things have sort of been pulled into focus for us," Butler said, "and I can't get away from the idea that if the President had anything to improve his position, he would have surrendered it."

BUTLER HAD ATTENDED the morning meeting of the committee and listened to some general talk about the merits of various drafts of impeachment articles that were circulating among the members. He noticed that a Xerox copy of a column by James J. Kilpatrick also was going the rounds.

Kilpatrick had written: "The President's last-ditch partisans are only deceiving themselves by persisting in the notion that Watergate is no more than a conspiracy among Democrats and newsmen. This evidence is no mirage; this evidence is as real as any avalanche. It overwhelms."

Butler said that was an interesting column and made no comment on its content. Butler talks candidly about the case up to a point, that point being just this side of any flat statement that would take him out of the ranks of the technically undecided. And he insists that more than a technical distinction is involved; he can imagine developments that would change the trend of his thinking now.

As he described that trend to Time magazine without quite being flat about it: "I truly hate the prospect of impeaching the President of the United States. But I'd also hate for the record to condone all that abuse of power that has come to light."

After his early meeting with other "undecideds," a conference with still other committee colleagues, the morning meeting of the committee itself and a trip to the House floor, Butler was looking forward to a moment of peace in his office before a lunch meeting and another session of the committee. He was wondering what he would do with the 15 minutes on national television that he and every other committee member would have at the opening of the formal public debate on impeachment. He was pretty sure he would just ask a few questions, but he was having trouble thinking about questions because the phones were ringing and people were bringing him messages and the state president of the Future Farmers of America was waiting to see him and a reporter was sitting there looking at him.

He found a minute to look at a few crucial matters the staff had laid on his desk. The staff is young and bright and has a sense of humor. The first item for a command decision was a suggestion by the Virginia Peanut Growers Association that Butler might require an increase in his weekly allocation of free promotional peanuts for visiting constituents.

"I don't think I'm up to a decision of that magnitude right now," Butler said, and went off for a quick lunch.

Butler: A Probable Impeacher

By JACK BETTS

The Virginian-Pilot Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—For months the question has been whether Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, a staunch Republican and Virginia's lone member of the House Judiciary Committee, would vote for a resolution to impeach his party's leader, President Nixon.

But Wednesday, the first full day of committee debate upon the articles of impeachment, the question is more properly: How many articles of impeachment will Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, whom the President has called "my favorite emcee," support?

The indications are that Butler will vote to impeach the President on two—but probably no more—articles of impeachment.

It will cost the tall, lanky Southwest Virginian lawyer a degree of agonizing and soul-searching, but he appears primed to cast his vote against his President.

"I truly hate the prospect of impeaching the President of the United States. But I'd also hate for the record to condone all that abuse of power that has come to light," Butler told a reporter last week.

Butler is not, however, ready to say which, if any, articles he'll support, but if actions speak louder than words he will back the following:

● A general article finding that the President has abused the powers of the presidency and failed to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

Pilot News Analysis

● An article charging the President with involvement in the Watergate coverup, an obstruction of justice.

Butler has found little evidence to support other charges laid before the committee such as presidential fraud in paying his income taxes, accepting bribes in the milk and ITT matters, or illegally ordering the secret bombing of Cambodia.

And it is known that he is none too happy with the present form of the articles, drafted by senior committee Democrats that he might support. Rep. William Cohen, R-Maine, considered one of the most likely Republicans to vote for impeachment, called them "too loose" and "statements I don't think are supported by facts."

Butler concurs, calling them "poorly drafted, terrible" and "defective."

If Butler were not going to vote for impeachment, his tactic would be to lay low, cast his votes against the articles of impeachment and, when it became necessary as it surely would, explain he could not in good conscience vote for what he considered defecive or poorly written resolutions. It would be an easy out.

He knows that he can take that road, but has refused to do so.

Quite the opposite, Butler wants to perfect those articles of

impeachment so there won't be any mistakes about it when he casts his vote.

To that end, Butler is working with three other Republicans, Reps. Thomas Railsback of Illinois, Hamilton Fish of New York, and Cohen and at last two Democrats, Reps. James Mann of South Carolina and Walter Flowers of Alabama, to put the draft articles of impeachment into a form that all could support.

The group has held a series of quilt meetings over the last two days trying to reach common ground in two areas—the abuse of power and the obstruction of justice.

"We want to make sure that we've got an impeachment resolution that isn't defective," Butler said Wednesday.

"These meetings do not commit me to vote for the resolution," Butler argued. "We're trying to put together something that frames the questions correctly. The draft articles aren't any good."

Butler said he would not say in advance how he would vote on any articles because "you don't know what the charges are until they are drafted."

But last week Butler said the "strongest charge I'd be most tempted to vote for would be an abuse of power catchall, provided the evidence could be found to support it. It's the whole pattern of conduct that bothers me, not one particular act. . . . The main problem is. What quantum of proof should be required?"

The object of the discussions within his bipartisan group is to take what proof they have and shape charges that are fully supported by the evidence.

Those charges, Butler confirmed Wednesday, are abuse of power and obstruction of justice and "I think those two are the broadest areas of acceptance."

"If we're going to have impeachment, then we have to have those two areas," Butler said, "and they've got to be in a form that is not fatally defective."

If Butler's group reaches a common ground on what the charges should be, and if, as seems likely, the committee's Democratic majority agrees substantially then M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke will be casting his vote within a few days to impeach the President of the United States.

Virginian-Pilot, Thursday, July 25, 1974 A7

Butler Hits Jenner 'Snub'

By JACK BETTS

The Virginian-Pilot Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, R-Va., Tuesday blasted the Judiciary Republicans' naming of former Roanoke prosecutor Sam Garrison as chief minority counsel over Albert Jenner as a "tactless thing to do to a man when he is down."

Butler, a member of the impeachment panel, said he did not take part in the Republican caucus where Garrison, a former Commonwealth's attorney from Roanoke who has been deputy minority counsel to Jenner, was officially designated minority counsel.

Jenner's future role and title are unclear at this point, but it appears that he will remain employed by the committee as an associate counsel to chief committee counsel John Doar.

Doar, Jenner, and Garrison are Republicans.

Butler said, "it was a shabby way to treat a man, to kick him when he is down."

He referred to criticisms of Jenner from committee Republicans who claimed that he let them down by agreeing with Doar in his presentations of evidence and in his advocacy of impeachment of President Nixon.

Butler, considered one of as many as eight or nine possible Republican votes for impeachment, also said he didn't believe that many members will be swayed by Republican Rep. Larry Hogan, R-Md., who announced Tuesday that he will vote to impeach the President.

Hogan, also a member of the committee and a candidate for governor of Maryland, said he was convinced that the President should be impeached and removed from office.

"I've got a lot of respect for

Larry Hogan, but I don't think he'll sway a lot of votes—certainly not like dominoes falling in line," he said.

But he admitted that it may make it easier for some members to join the impeachment voters.

"If you're looking for comfort, it'll sure be there," Butler said.

Butler said he has gotten to know Hogan fairly well since sitting beside him at the impeachment meetings, so the announcement came as no surprise to anyone.

"I think everyone pretty well had that one figured out, didn't they?"

Hogan said that other members on the committee already had their minds made up and would say so, but Butler demurred.

"I'm not ready to say how I'm going to vote on anything," he said.

viewpoint

Nice Job, Caldwell

If, in the past, there has been a reluctance in these columns to become infatuated with the legislative abilities of M. Caldwell Butler, it traces to a suspicion that his unswerving loyalty to party politics had precluded truly effective leadership.

Mr. Butler, of course, represents our own Sixth District in Congress and is the only Virginian in the cast of television's latest hit, the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment deliberations.

Today, we are pleased to report, this gentleman holds a new position of esteem in our eyes. Taking his turn before the cameras yesterday, Mr. Butler reflected credit upon himself and upon those who elected him to Congress two years ago.

In a speech which must have been tormenting to write and painful to deliver, Mr. Butler said he had reached the unhappy conclusion that Mr. Nixon must be impeached. While hedging his remarks just slightly, this freshman on Capitol Hill nevertheless erased any thought that here was a man whose vision starts and stops with the Republican Party.

It was, in a way, a courageous stand to take. It would have been easier, perhaps, merely to withhold judgment until the committee took its final vote. But we are proud that Mr. Butler stated his views promptly, forthrightly and in unmistakable terms.

There was no mincing of words in what he had to say: "If we fail to impeach, we have condoned and left unpunished a course of conduct totally inconsistent with the

reasonable expectations of the American people.

"We will have condoned and left unpunished a presidential course of conduct designed to interfere with and obstruct the very process which he is sworn to uphold; and we will have condoned and left unpunished an abuse of power totally without justification . . .

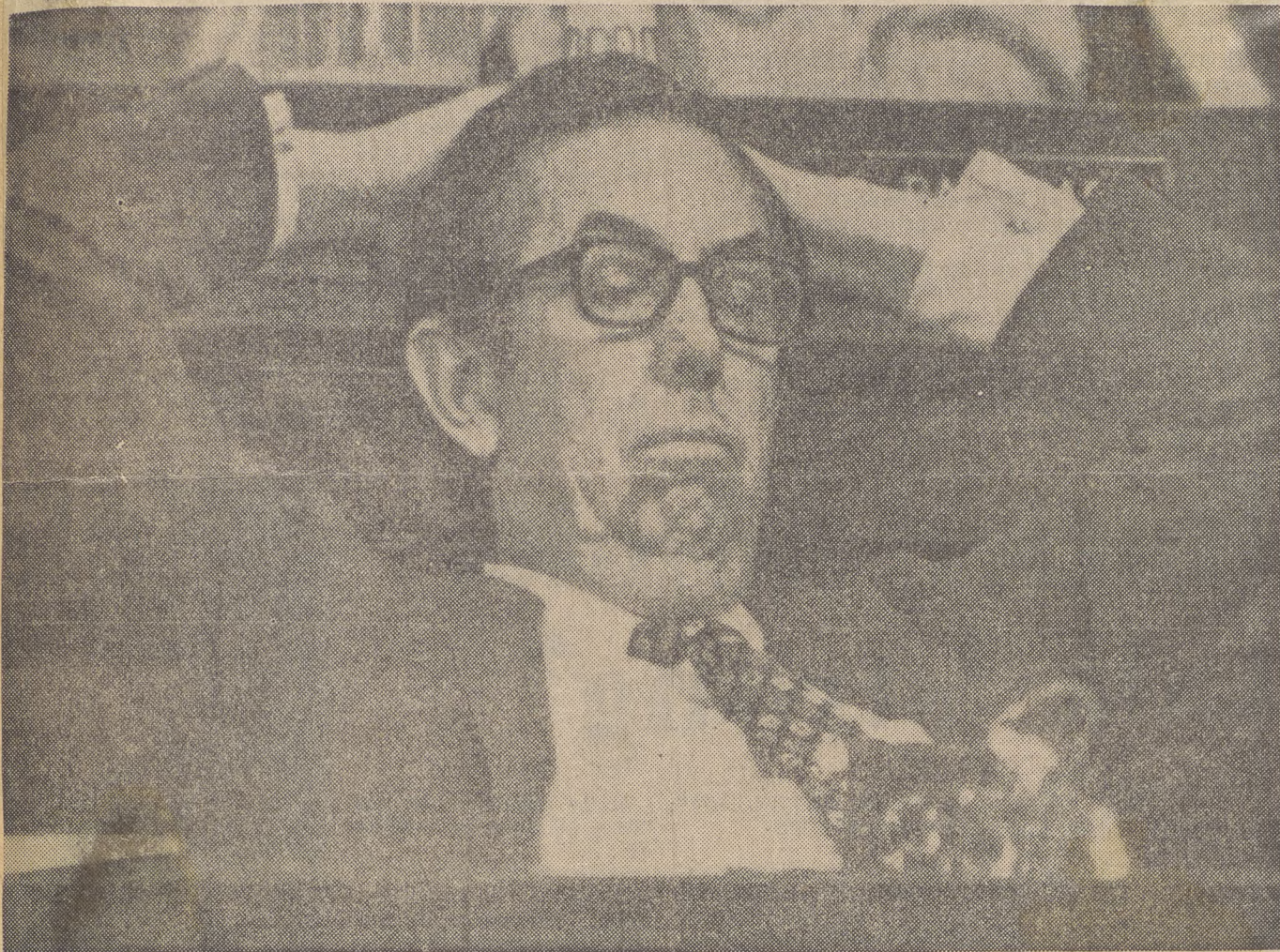
"Power appears to have corrupted. It is a sad chapter in American history, but I cannot condone what I have heard; I cannot excuse it; and I cannot and will not stand still for it."

If one questions the ache these words must bring to Mr. Butler's breast, let it be recalled that, in large measure, he owes his election in 1972 to the active endorsement of President Nixon. Let it be recalled, too, as he did in his speech yesterday, that over the years Mr. Nixon has extended "many kindnesses and courtesies" to him.

Worth repeating here are the comments Mr. Butler addressed to his own Republican colleagues: "We cannot indulge ourselves the luxury of patronizing or excusing the misconduct of our own people. These things have happened in our house, and it is our responsibility to do what we can to clear it up."

Mr. Butler's surprisingly strong remarks may cost him the support of many hard-line Nixon supporters in his own district. But he should have won a new respect for saying what he believes and saying it without regard for party affiliation or political repercussion.

We applaud him.



Associated Press

Butler listens to debate in House Judiciary Committee

"But Watergate is our shame: Those things happened in the Republican administration while we had a Republican in the White House and every single person convicted to date has one way or the other owed allegiance to the Republican Party.

"We cannot indulge ourselves the luxury of patronizing or excusing the misconduct of our own people. These things have happened in our House, and it is our responsibility to do what we can to clear it up," said Butler.

"If we fail to impeach, we have condoned and left unfinished a course of conduct totally inconsistent with the reasonable expectations of the American people.

"We will have condoned and left unpunished a presidential course of conduct designed to interfere with and obstruct the very process which he is sworn to uphold; and we will have condoned and left unpunished an abuse of power totally without justification.

"And we will have said to the American people: 'These misdeeds are inconsequential and unimportant,'" said Butler.

These are burning words in an election year. These are words that every Republican who supports the President will hear if the President is still in office in November.

And they are already having their effect on the House where the final impeachment vote will take place sometime after the middle of next month.

There are 17 Republicans on the House Judiciary Committee. If seven to 10 of them go against the President this will be translated on the floor of the House. One Republican leader said after the Butler speech that "a minimum" of 60 Republicans will vote against the President and the figure could go as high as 100.

That could put the number of those voting for impeachment of the President over 300. There are 435 members of the House.

And this would have its effect in the Senate where a trial would be held if impeachment carries in the House.

So what is going on in the House Judiciary Room right now is terribly important to the fate of the President.

They sit there in that small Judiciary hearing room — 38 men and women. Their arguments have been sharp and the process itself represents a tremendous comeback for the Congress.

They are not trying to convince each other. They are trying to convince the American people. And they are trying to convince the people who vote for them in their districts that what they are about to do is right and proper for the nation.

As they have said it is a tough process. No one is a total political gainer in the vote.

But in the process the American people are getting a critical education on the abuses of the presidency and the method of correction.

And at this hour the Congress stands very tall.

Boston Globe

Friday - June 26, '74

POLITICAL CIRCUIT
By ROBERT HEALY

A bad day for Nixon

WASHINGTON — It may have been the day the Nixon Administration died.

On Chairman Peter Rodino's right were the Democrats. They read from the record of the hearings and from the tapes that the White House reluctantly gave up. They read about obstruction of justice by the President's men, and some accused the President of being part of that conspiracy. They read the President's own words . . . "Button it up" . . . "Cut our losses" . . . "Cover-up."

But these were Democrats. There may be a defection among them when the vote comes on the question of impeachment of President Nixon before the Judiciary Committee. No one expects now that there will be.

Where the drama begins is when the television cameras shift to Rodino's left. It is there that the Republicans sit. And when they speak each phrase is weighed.

Because they will decide the fate of Richard Nixon.

When these impeachment hearings began seven weeks ago, there may have been one or possibly two Republican votes for the

PETER RODINO

impeachment of the President on the committee.

Now there are seven counted as "sure" votes for impeachment and, according to one committee member, there is the possibility of three more swinging against the President.

There is a certain agony, courage and finality in their voting. If they turn against Richard Nixon in any number, his presidency goes with them.

And turn they did.

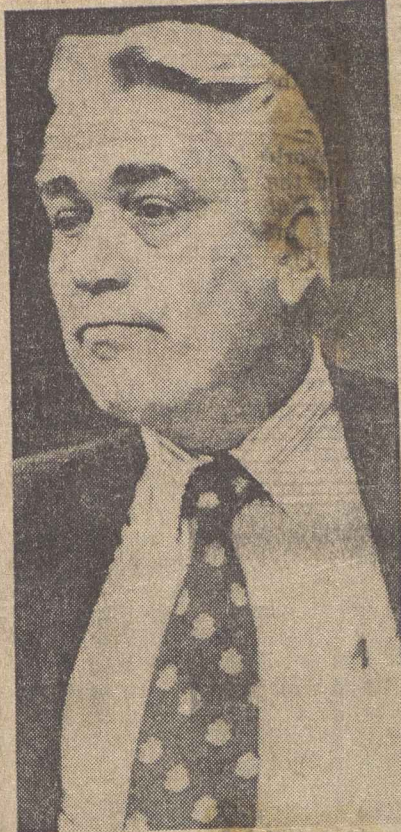
There was Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, a conservative Republican from Virginia. His message will live with the Republican Party this year if Richard Nixon remains in the White House: "For years we Republicans have campaigned against corruption and misconduct in the administration of the government of the United States by the other party."

"Indeed, in my first political experience in 1952, Trumanism was the vehicle that carried Dwight Eisenhower to the White House. And, somehow or other, we have found the

circumstances to bring that issue before the American people in every national campaign.



M. CALDWELL BUTLER



GOP DISAGREEMENT—Rep. M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.), left, tells Judiciary Committee the President should be impeached. But Rep. Charles Wiggins (R-Calif.), right, shown just before his speech, said the evidence is inadmissible for a Senate trial. (AP Wirephotos)

Several in GOP Call for Impeachment

BY JACK NELSON
and PAUL HOUSTON
Times Staff Writers

WASHINGTON — Southern Democrats and several Republicans on the House Judiciary Committee spoke passionately in behalf of impeachment Thursday, strongly increasing the probability of House approval and a Senate trial for President Nixon.

Two Southern conservatives — Reps. Walter Flowers (D-Ala.) and M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.) — criticized Mr. Nixon's alleged role in the Watergate coverup and in misuse of federal agencies. They said failure to impeach would set a standard of condoning misconduct by presidents.

"There are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President of the United States," Butler said, "because we will by this proceeding establish as a matter of record a standard of conduct by the President... which would be for all time a matter of public record."

"If we fail to impeach, we have condoned and left unpunished a course of conduct totally inconsistent with the reasonable expectations of the American people... We will have condoned and left unpunished a presidential course of conduct designed to interfere with and obstruct the very process that he has sworn to uphold."

The stands taken by the Southern Democrats and by seven Republicans, together with a rising sentiment for impeachment on Capitol Hill, have seriously jeopardized Mr. Nixon's political future.

The White House conceded earlier that the committee would approve articles of impeachment, but it had counted on Southern Democrats and Republicans to hold down the margin.

James D. St. Clair, Mr. Nixon's chief impeachment counsel, has predicted the President would win his case on the House floor. A lopsided committee vote favoring impeachment, however, would damage Mr. Nixon's chances on the floor, where only a majority vote is required for impeachment.

Rep. Delbert L. Latta (R-Ohio), one of Mr. Nixon's strongest supporters, said:

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on Support Fades Impeachment Panel

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in the committee, that the committee to impeach would 12.

Democrats and 17 Republicans on the committee completed their remarks in the impeachment debate Thursday.

an Peter W. Rodino (D-N.J.) recessed the House phase of proceedings, saying that "with a heavy heart" he would urge his colleagues to impeach the President.

h it was common knowledge that Rodino favored impeachment, it was the only vote he had said so far.

Edward Hutchinson (D-N.J.), the ranking member who has been Mr. Nixon's fiercest critic, said he would recommend impeachment.

vote on the two articles of impeachment could be held today. Les E. Wiggins (D-Miss.), who represents the 1st congressional district of Mississippi, said he would vote for impeachment.

fense of the President Thursday's criticism of the President piled by the staff as largely inadmissible.

that he had described himself as Mr. Nixon's defender," Wiggins said.

I wince when I think of the damage that this does not remedy conviction. I am sure, as a possible assistant to managers in the Senate (for a trial of Mr. Nixon), to consider the evidence as distinguished from the material.

which we have... available before this committee — 38 books of material.

"My guess, Mr. Doar, you can put all of the admissible evidence in half of one book. Most of this is just material. It is not evidence and it may never surface in the Senate because it is not admissible evidence."

Another Southern California Republican, Rep. Carlos J. Moorhead, said there were two sides to the case but that he had concluded that Mr. Nixon in most instances acted in the best interests of the people.

Moorhead said, "I know it would be easy to vote for impeachment... It is hard to be against something that so many people are for."

Butler joined Rep. Lawrence J. Hogan (Md.), a fellow conservative Republican who had declared for impeachment prior to the debate, in taking a position against the President.

"My present inclination is to support articles incorporating my view as to the charges of obstruction of justice and abuse of power, but there will be no joy in it for me," he said.

The decisions of Butler and Hogan, who noted that they had campaigned with and supported Mr. Nixon, probably will help solidify the House vote for impeachment.

So will the pro-impeachment stands by the committee's three Southern Democrats—Flowers and Reps. James R. Mann (S.C.) and Ray Thornton (Ark.).

The only Southerner on the committee to defend Mr. Nixon was Rep. Trent Lott (R-Miss.), who said that in some respects Mr. Nixon had been the best President of the century. Lott said the committee had only circumstantial evidence on which to base articles of impeachment.

Several members of Congress have said they thought the votes of Southern Democrats on the committee would be crucial to how some other Southern Democrats vote when the articles reach the floor.

Senior members of the Democratic delegations of

ERODING SUPPORT

Continued from 6th Page
palatable if his colleagues join the vote.

One Southern congressman said Thursday, "I'll tell you what I think is going to happen. You'll see your deans of delegations, particularly in the South, calling the delegations together."

"In the South the good ol' boys will get together all in a room, have a couple of shots of bourbon, and the dean will say, 'I'm not trying to tell any of you how to vote or anything. But let's discuss the evidence, and it's overwhelming.' Well, the whole delegation will make the decision, and that will make it easier on all of us."

Sen. John G. Tower (R-Tex.), a strong backer of Mr. Nixon, conceded in a television interview Thursday that the impeachment momentum had eroded Mr. Nixon's support, among Republicans on Capitol Hill.

Rep. Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.), majority floor leader, has predicted the House will vote to impeach by a margin of at least 60 and perhaps as much as 100 votes.

There are 248 Democrats in the House and 187 Republicans.

Republicans in addition to Butler and Hogan who have stated or implied support for at least one article of impeachment include Reps. William S. Cohen (Me.), Hamilton Fish Jr. (N.Y.), Robert McClory (Ill.), Tom Railsback (Ill.) and Harold V. Froehlich (Wis.).

Hogan, an ex-FBI agent who is running for governor of Maryland, surprised other committee members by announcing the day before committee debate opened Wednesday that he would support impeachment. He had been considered a possible but unlikely vote for impeachment because he had frequently defended the President during earlier committee proceedings.

Another member in that category was Froehlich, who Thursday implied that he would vote for an

article of impeachment accusing Mr. Nixon of numerous offenses, including approving payment of money to silence witnesses, in connection with the Watergate coverup.

A second article being considered by the committee accuses the President of abusing his powers of office. It also covers numerous other alleged offenses, including misuse of the FBI, CIA and IRS, the activities of the White House "plumbers" intelligence group, including the burglarizing of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatric records; impeding lawful inquiries into the conduct of his office, and refusal to comply with committee subpoenas in contempt of the House.

Today the committee begins more specific debate and discussion on the first article of impeachment.

Numerous amendments are expected to be offered during the televised debates before the committee finally votes on the articles.

Some of the amendments will come from a small group of Republicans and Southern Democrats who have been meeting together behind closed doors trying to agree on articles that they can support.

The group, forming a kind of balance of power in the committee proceedings, includes Republicans Railsback, Cohen, Butler and Fish, and Democrats Flowers, Mann and Thornton.

Thornton, whose district gave 69% of its vote to Mr. Nixon in 1972, said he was convinced that the President, beginning in March, 1973, began directing the coverup of the Watergate break-in.

He said he was "firmly convinced" that Mr. Nixon had violated his oath of office by abusing his powers and obstructing justice.

Mann, whose district voted 80% to reelect Mr. Nixon in 1972, appealed for respect for the committee, which the White House has labeled "a kangaroo court" and a "lynch mob."



GOP DISAGREEMENT—Rep. M tells Judiciary Committee the But Rep. Charles Wiggins (R-C his speech, said the evidence is

of Da Nang, 370 miles north of Saigon, Wednesday, the Saigon command said in a delayed report. An estimated 6,000 North Vietnamese troops attacked the base, and in fighting that stretched into Thursday an estimated 1,100 Communists and 60 government soldiers were killed. Another 200 South Vietnamese troops were reported missing.

An Irish Republican Army bomb blitz forced the evacuation of downtown Belfast at the height of the evening rush hour. As thousands obeyed police orders to clear the area, four car bombs exploded within 30 minutes, leaving a sea of debris from wrecked stores and offices. Police, who reported no casualties, said the IRA used its proxy bomb technique—hijacking vehicles, packing them with explosives and forcing their drivers to head for the target areas under threat of death. The first warning came when a driver leaped from a truck in front of the luxurious Belfast Europa Hotel and shouted an alarm.

French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has reaffirmed his intention to end French nuclear tests in the atmosphere this year. In a press conference, Giscard d'Estaing also promised to give a new style to the presidency and said he would go on fighting for the rights of French women. He said the government was giving no thought to a wage and price freeze and believed the mea-

Nixon Support Fades on Impeachment Panel

Continued from First Page
porters on the committee, predicted that the committee vote to impeach would be 26 to 12.

All 21 Democrats and 17 Republicans on the committee completed their opening remarks in the impeachment debate Thursday night.

Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. (D-N.J.) recessed the first phase of proceedings by saying that "with a heavy heart" he would urge this colleagues to vote for impeachment of the President.

Although it was common knowledge Rodino favored impeachment, it was the first time he had said so for the record.

Rep. Edward Hutchinson (R-Mich.), the ranking minority member who has defended Mr. Nixon from the outset of the inquiry, said he found the evidence lacking and would recommend against impeachment.

The first vote on the two impeachment articles under consideration could come as early as today.

Rep. Charles E. Wiggins (R-Calif.), who represents the congressional district once held by Mr. Nixon, led the defense of the President at Thursday's session, criticizing the evidence compiled by the committee staff as largely inadequate and inadmissible at a Senate trial.

Recalling that he had heard himself described on television as Mr. Nixon's "chief defender," Wiggins said:

"Frankly, I wince when I am characterized thusly because that does not reflect at all my conviction. I count myself as a friend of the President and I am proud of that friendship and I cherish it, but that friendship is not going to deter me one whit from doing what is right in this case according to the law, and I would hope that my colleagues share that conviction."

Looking directly at special counsel John M. Doar, Wiggins said, "It must trouble you, Mr. Doar, I am sure, as a possible assistant to managers in the Senate (for a trial of Mr. Nixon), to consider the evidence as distinguished from the material

which we have . . . available before this committee—38 books of material.

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Editorials

THE ROANOKE TIMES

Friday, July 26, 1974

With Candor and Discretion

Mr. Butler Speaks

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler, Republican of this district and a member of the House Judiciary Committee, revealed his decision yesterday. He did it with pain because he has supported President Nixon in every campaign. But he announced his decision with candor, vigor and with discretion. He will vote to impeach.

Mr. Butler will vote to impeach, but only on those articles of such gravity as certainly to deserve impeachment and removal from office. These center on the abuse of power: the failure of the President to see to it that the laws are faithfully executed, as mandated by the Constitution; the turning loose of governmental agencies, such as the FBI and the IRS, on political enemies. These have frightful implications for a free society, Mr. Butler rightly said.

And though this criticism might not find its place in an article of impeachment, Mr. Butler was saddened by the failure of President Nixon to tell the truth to the American people in that step-by-step revelation of the Watergate story.

We might have different opinions as to which articles deserve to go to the House and then to the Senate; members of the committee obviously have disagreements. But we respect the way Mr. Butler has gone about his job. He has listened to and read far more evidence than could the most attentive reader or radio-TV listener. We respect his decision and believe most of his constituents will also—even those who wish that the evidence could have persuaded Mr. Butler differently.

While many Virginians got a good feeling listening to their man in Washington, Mr. Butler has done equally important work behind the scenes. With a bipartisan group he has been trying to draw up articles of impeachment which are sound in law, clear in language. Fitting the constitutional words into modern experience and the instant case will not be an easy task. But if Mr. Butler's group can get the words right, they will not simply help the present House and Senate. They will post guidelines for the future writ so large that even a President who runs can read.

Joyless Butler Backs Ouster

WASHINGTON (AP) — Declaring "there will be no joy in it for me," freshman Republican Congressman M. Caldwell Butler has called for President Nixon's impeachment and removal from office.

Butler, a Nixon supporter in normal times, told fellow members of the House Judiciary Committee Thursday... "I would be less than candid if I did not say that my present inclination is to support articles incorporating my view of the charges of obstruction of justice and the abuse of power."

Butler, who is running for reelection from his Western Virginia area 6th District, made the comment as he took his turn among committeemen and women who presented opening statements in the debate over whether a bill containing articles of impeachment should be reported to the House floor.

"It is a sad chapter in American history," he said, "but I cannot condone what I have heard; I cannot excuse it, and I cannot and will not stand still for it."

Butler said he was particularly concerned the pattern of "presidential abuse of the power given him by the statute and the Constitution."

Referring to the "manipulation" of government agencies such as the Internal Revenue Service, the freshman Republican said: "The evidence is clear, direct, and convincing to me that the President of the United States condoned and encouraged the use of the Internal Revenue Service taxpayer audit as a means of harassing the President's political enemies."

Butler added that it was apparent to him that the President participated in a continuing coverup of the Watergate scandal, "at least after the 21st day of March 1973."

"This is clearly a policy of obstruction of justice which cannot go unnoticed."

Butler said, in short, power appears to have corrupted during the Nixon years.

"This is not to suggest that there are not many areas of our investigation which clearly reveal to me that some charges do not elevate themselves to this status of an impeachable offense," he said.

While noting he'd been a supporter of the President, Butler told colleagues on the committee that "there are frightening implications for the fu-

ture of the country if we do not impeach the President."

Butler, however, said he wished to reserve his final judgment in the matter.

Meanwhile, Virginia's Congressional delegation praised the power and "conscience" of Butler's impeachment statement, but remained publicly cautious on how they might vote themselves.

Nonetheless, some private assessments within the delegation suggested that Butler might carry at least four or five other Virginia congressmen to his position that the President should be impeached.

"It was a very powerful statement," said Rep. G. William Whitehurst, a Republican from the Norfolk area 2nd District. But Whitehurst said he would "weigh very carefully" the evidence and the exact language of the impeachment articles before he makes up his own mind.

Rep. Robert W. Daniel of the 4th District said, "I hold Caldwell Butler to be a man of high integrity and conscience. I am sure that what he is doing is interpreting the evidence as he sees it and to be making his decision accordingly." Daniel said he did not know whether he would respond to the same facts in the same way.

20 Tapes By Tuesday, St. Clair Says

WASHINGTON (AP) — Under prodding from U.S. District Judge John J. Sirica, presidential attorney James St. Clair agreed today to surrender tapes of 20 Watergate conversations by next Tuesday and to speed work on 44 others.



UPI Photo

Rep. Caldwell Butler of Virginia Talks With Counsel Sam Garrison Before Debate Opened

The Weather

Today—Cloudy, high in the low 80s, low in the 60s. The chance of rain is 20 per cent today and tonight Saturday — Cloudy, high in the 80s. Yesterday's temperature range: 79-68. Details are on Page C8.

The Washington Post

97th Year ... No. 233

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FRIDAY, JULY 26, 1974

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Support for Nixon Seen Wilting Away

By Richard L. Lyons
and William Chapman
Washington Post Staff Writers

Support for President Nixon appeared to be wilting away yesterday as several uncommitted members of the House Judiciary Committee indicated they may vote for impeachment.

The most striking shift was by Rep. M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.), who announced his intention to vote to impeach the President with the statement: "I cannot condone what I have heard, I cannot excuse it, and I cannot stand still for it."

Rep. Ray Thornton (D-Ark.) was the second undecided member to announce for impeachment.

The former Arkansas attorney general said last night there was "no mistake" from the evidence that the President "was aware and generally attempted to conceal the evidence" of Watergate. Thornton said that while some of the offenses attributed to the President have happened before, "I know of no time when it was systematized or carried on in such an organized way." He said the President should be impeached for abuse of power and obstruction of justice.

Chairman Peter W. Rodino (D-N.J.) closed 10 hours of general debate last night with the expected statement that he will vote for impeachment. He said he had applied the tests he felt the committee must apply and "I find the President must be found wanting." Rep. Edward Hutchinson (R-Mich.), senior committee Republican, announced as expected he will oppose impeachment.

The committee is to begin voting this morning on two articles of impeachment for recommendation to the House.

Meanwhile, the committee's No. 2 Republican Robert McClory of Illinois, pro-

posed to replace the Democratic articles with a single impeachment count that would include the Watergate break-in, the White House "plumbers," the misuse of the IRS, CIA and FBI, the misuse of his office to obtain information from the Justice Department to help aides escape prosecution, and the making of "false representations to criminal investigators so as to obstruct the due administration of justice" in the Watergate cover-up.

It has been assumed for months that the committee would approve an impeachment resolution, but the margin appeared to be growing wider yesterday. Several Republicans and Southern Democrats spelled out the evidence that most troubled them and indicated—without saying specifically—that they would wind up in the pro-impeachment camp.

An informal head count last night showed 20 solid votes for impeachment and nine against. The nine other members have not announced their position positively, but most are expected to favor impeachment on at least one ground.

It appeared that on at least one article the vote could be as high as 27 to 11 to recommend impeachment.

The middle-ground members seemed to be most concerned about evidence showing an alleged abuse of power by the President, specifically the misuse of agencies such as the CIA, FBI and Internal Revenue Service for political purposes.

These charges are contained in the second article of impeachment proposed by the Democratic majority and designed to appeal to as many undecided members as possible. The first article, which is to be considered by the committee first today, accuses the



By James K. W. Atherton—The Washington Post

Rep. M. Caldwell Butler (R-Va.) makes his statement. At left is Lawrence J. Hogan (R-Md.)

See IMPEACH, A12, Col. 1

Fine Manners in House Dissipate Into Spats

WASHINGTON (AP) — They address each other ever so politely. It's the gentleman from this state and the gentleman from that.

All the while, the scissors are out. They are cutting up and pasting together proposed articles of impeachment — the first to be presented to the House of Representatives since another committee accused President Andrew Johnson 106 years ago.

For two days the 36 men and two women on the Judiciary Committee had filled the air with lofty phrases. But no more.

The gentleman from California disagrees with the gentleman from Maryland. The gentleman from New Jersey refuses to yield his time. Three

other gentlemen suddenly rise from their seats and disappear to work out something in private.

It's like watching a fist fight among men dressed in tuxedos. Or, looking at it another way, longshoremen dancing the minuet.

The event begins with preliminaries. Debate on whether to give the President yet more time to turn over subpoenaed tapes consumes an hour and the proposal fails, 27 to 11.

The plan proposed by a Republican would have delayed the proceedings. But Chairman Peter W. Rodino, D-N.J., contends: "We have been fair, we have been patient. It's futile to delay knowing full well the President's response."

There's a time-consuming

squabble. Should the proposed articles of impeachment be read in full before a substitute, hammered out in private, is offered: The outcome is no.

The substitute article offered by Democrat Paul S. Sarbanes of Maryland is read. It's the opening round of the big fight between the pro-impeachment members and those opposed.

The Sarbanes substitute accuses the President of "using the powers of his high office" to hide illegal activities in the Watergate break-in.

"This is just a lot of generalities," says mild-manner Rep. Edward Hutchinson of Michigan the ranking Republican. "It doesn't set forth any specific incidents. I think it is fatal on that account."

Then it's up to Sarbanes to defend his work.

"I have a question for the gentleman from Maryland," says Rep. Charles E. Wiggins, a California Republican. "Is it your intention to charge the President with a substantive crime?"

No, says Sarbanes, an impeachable offense is not in accord with a criminal matter.

"Do you intend to charge the President with conspiring to obstruct justice?"

No, says Sarbanes, if you mean in a criminal sense.

Wiggins pressed for specifics: when, where and in what respects did the President institute a policy to obstruct justice?

"The policy goes back to June 17, 1972," says Sarbanes.

That was the date when Democratic party headquarters in the Watergate office building was burglarized.

Republican Charles W. Sandman Jr., of New Jersey now has his chance. He asserts there are about 20 different charges at issue and none are specific. These are charges against the President of the United States, argues Sandman, and President Nixon is entitled to know the specifics of what he allegedly did wrong.

Now Democrat George E. Danielson of California jumps in. Sandman asks him: "Does the President have any less right than any common criminal would?"

Abrupt Question Stuns Chairman Rodino

WASHINGTON (AP) — A young man interrupted the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment inquiry Friday by shouting, "Mr. Chairman, why isn't the President being impeached for war crimes — aren't war crimes as important as tapes?"

Committee Chairman Peter W. Rodino, D-N.J., looked stunned and a moment later pounded his gavel saying: "Silence or you will have to leave the room."

A plainclothes detective moved toward the young man who had entered the room as part of a rotating group of the public.

A young woman also was escorted from the room.

Outside the hearing room they identified themselves as Sal Scafiei and Nancy Dorst and said they were from Baltimore and "of the Baltimore-Washington Nonviolence Community."

As he was led from the room, Scafiei shouted, "Mr. Chairman, I demand an answer."

It was the first outburst in three days of public debates although the committee room has been cleared three times to check out bomb threats telephoned by anonymous callers.

Panel Debates Cover-Up Issue

From Page 1

placed before us are in enough detail to bring me to that conclusion today."

Rodino, who had delayed the start of both the morning and afternoon sessions to try in private to hash out the most acceptable wording, pointed out that there are few precedents to rely on and that in the case of President Andrew Johnson, the only other presidential impeachment, the articles were drafted after he was impeached by the House.

The revised article charging the President with obstructing the Watergate investigation was offered by Rep. Paul Sarbanes, D-Md.

The revision deleted broad phrasing in favor of more specific language, but made no major changes in the original article, introduced Wednesday night by Rep. Harold Donohue, D-Mass.

A revision of Donohue's second article was expected to be submitted later.

As soon as debate began on the substitute offered by Sarbanes, Republican Reps. Charles E. Wiggins of California and Charles Sandman of New Jersey, and Edward Hutchinson of Michigan, attacked it as still too vague.

"It does not set forth with the specific detail, the exact incidents upon which any criminal indictment would have to lay," said Hutchinson, the ranking Republican on the committee.

The article charged the President "made it his policy ... to ... obstruct the investigation" of the Watergate break-in. "When was the policy declared?" asked Wiggins.

"It dates back to June 17, 1972," replied Sarbanes.

"When?" repeated Wiggins, demanding that Sarbanes be more specific about the date such a policy was declared. "We're talking about a policy of the President of the United States."

Sandman took up the same argument and then asked:

"Does the President have any less rights pertaining to due process than a common criminal?"

Democrats replied that the charges were readily understandable to the President and his attorney and that if approved, a bill of particulars would be available to Nixon.

Any articles of impeachment approved by the committee would go to the

full House where a majority vote would be required to formally impeach the President and precipitate a Senate trial. The articles could be amended by the House.

A two-thirds vote of the Senate would be required for conviction and removal from office.

Before turning to consideration of the articles, the committee rejected by a vote of 27 to 11, a motion from Rep. Robert McClory of Illinois, second ranking Republican on the panel, to delay the debate in the hope of obtaining subpoenaed tapes from President Nixon.

Ten Republicans and one Democrat, Rep. James Mann of South Carolina, supported McClory's proposal.

"I would press more vigorously for this if I had any assurance they (the tapes) would be made available," said McClory. "I have the strong feeling there is no intention to make this material available to the committee."

Rodino agreed, saying that in light of the President's past refusals to deliver evidence the McClory scheme was both "idle and futile."

The World-News

Editorial View

Saturday, July 27, 1974

Butler: a search for justice

Political crisis, like any adversity, is likely to bring out the true character of the figures involved. In this case the crisis is impeachment, and among the characters being revealed are those of the members of the House Judiciary Committee. Addressing the committee on the articles of impeachment, Virginia's representative, Caldwell Butler, has shown himself to be a most judicious and thorough member.

Rep. Butler spoke concisely and with a tenseness that backed up his statements that the hearings had been "a most distasteful experience for us all," and that a subsequent recommendation of the articles would contain "no joy . . . for me."

In praising the accomplishments of the Nixon administration and in outlining his indebtedness to the Republican party and to the President, he exhibited real political "hutzpah." It would have been much easier for him to have excused himself from past ties and any part in Nixon's election.

But he chose, instead, the same line of action that he had taken when he sharply criticized the Republican caucus for replacing Albert Jenner with Sam Garrison as chief minority counsel. That indignation was particularly intrepid politically, since it could have been interpreted as a criticism of fellow Roanoker Garrison. (Butler later had kind words for both Jenner and Garrison before the committee.)

And Rep. Butler's deference to the

President and the administration served to strengthen his censure when it came: "There are frightening implications for the future of our country if we do not impeach the President of the United States."

Throughout the hearings, Butler has been cautious and very slow to condemn. He has warned of overkill on the part of the press; he has waited for every line of defense; and in a July 1973 interview he said "impeachment as such is a process that would paralyze the country. I don't think we have the machinery right now that we could impeach." That he would impeach a serious illustrates how thoroughly he has been convinced, how substantial the evidence he has seen.

But the soundness in his conclusions lies in his legal arguments. Butler has carefully—and correctly—distinguished between those charges he considers impeachable offenses and those that he finds, although they may seem morally reprehensible, clearly not "high crimes and misdemeanors." The legal position he presented before the committee was the work of a meticulous lawyer whose criterion is justice, whether the accused be a respected friend or not.

Rep. Butler is proving his political stature on this House committee. He is not rolling along with popular opinion, nor is he plodding a blind partisan path that his strong party allegiance might indicate. But he is taking his own stand, and he is basing that stand on very solid ground.

Other voices

Mr. Butler on the spot

AS THE HOUSE Judiciary Committee comes closer to its moment of truth, there is much speculation upon which way the 21 Democrats and 17 Republicans will vote on a bill of impeachment.

Almost all the Democrats are going to vote for the impeachment of Mr. Nixon, it is predicted. The critical question is how the Republicans will vote. If most of the Republicans side with the White House, then the Judiciary Committee's verdict will be a near thing. And if the impeachment is narrowly voted, it is likely that the full House of Representatives will vote more or less along party lines too.

But if the 17 Judiciary Committee Republicans split, say 10 to 7, then the division will foreshadow a similar split among the body of House Republicans. And if the full House of Representatives votes by a convincing majority to recommend the impeachment of Mr. Nixon, that will influence the President's and the Senate's thinking. It would be easier for two-thirds of the Senate to convict Mr. Nixon, and the President would be more tempted to resign to escape their vote.

Hence speculation tends to focus upon a handful of Republicans who are considered "swing votes." They could go either way and their colleagues will be watching how they vote. One of them is the Judiciary Committee's only Virginian, Representative M. Caldwell Butler of Roanoke.

How Mr. Butler votes is certain to influence other Virginians — the three Democrats in the House as well as the six Republicans in the House.

Republicans. While it is an accident of politics that Mr. Butler should be the man on the spot, the choice is serendipitous. For he is perhaps the brightest and most conscientious member of the Virginia delegation, which is not an inspiring lot as a whole.

Mr. Butler inherited his seat from Representative Richard H. Poff, who held it for 20 years until he retired and accepted appointment to the State Supreme Court. Although a freshman in the House, he is no newcomer to politics. He represents the same sort of moderate mountain Republicanism as former Governor Linwood Holton, his onetime law partner, and he earned the respect of the Democratic majority as floor leader of the Republicans in the House of Delegates. Mr. Butler is enough of a politician to weigh the consequences of his vote. But he is also a lawyer who can be expected to consider the evidence for impeachment in more than political terms.

However he votes he is certain to offend some of his supporters. (But he probably will be re-elected whichever way he votes; Mr. Butler is popular and the Sixth District is Republican.) He'll be told to vote his conscience and to vote his party and to vote with an eye to history. That may be more than he bargained for when he went to Washington—The (Norfolk) Virginian Pilot

EDITOR'S NOTE: This editorial was written before Rep. Butler indicated this week that he would probably vote for impeachment on two of the articles being considered by the House Judiciary Committee.

